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# ***JPRS Report***

## **Soviet Union**

### ***International Affairs***

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# NOTICE

Effective immediately, the JPRS REPORT: SOVIET UNION/PROBLEMS OF THE FAR EAST, a translation of the Russian-language journal PROBLEMY DALNEGO VOSTOKA published in Moscow by the USSR Academy of Sciences Far East Institute, will no longer be published. The journal is also published in English in Moscow by the USSR Academy of Sciences Far East Institute under the title FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS.

# Soviet Union

## International Affairs

JPRS-UIA-88-007

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**Estonian Foreign Ministry's Role Enhanced by Perestroika**

18070072 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 21 Jan 88 p 1

[ETA article: "The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Estonia: A Time of Perestroika"]

Through the Soviet Baltic area to Southern Europe. This is how the new route for freight transshipment and intensive development of motor tourism from Scandinavia appears to Soviet and Finnish motorist-colleagues. The protocol on opportunities for cooperation in this area was signed recently by specialists of the ESSR Ministry of Motor Transport and Highways and a number of Finnish firms. Employees of the ESSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) spoke as experts on this agreement, which opens up new prospects for close economic contacts.

"This case can illustrate the processes of perestroika which have touched even the realm of union republic ministries of foreign affairs," Estonian Minister of Foreign Affairs Arnold Gren told an ETA correspondent. "Perestroika affects our work primarily in that the Estonian MFA, like analogous ministries of other union republics, is now participating more actively in forming the foreign policy of the Soviet state. For example, the contribution of Estonia to expanding Soviet economic, scientific, and cultural contacts with Scandinavia has become more significant in the last year."

The minister also cited the example of the republic firm Estimpeks, which was established one year ago. It facilitated for Soviet industry the exchange of goods and the organization of joint ventures with foreign joint-stock companies. The firm gathers and makes available various economic information to clients. One of the clear results of the activity of this firm is the establishment of our country's first joint venture with foreign firms to produce lacquers, paints, and emulsions—the EKE-Sadolin enterprise. The Estonian MFA, along with this firm, is engaged in studying foreign competition. All this is the first experience, of which our country previously had none. The efforts of our republic's MFA can help the Soviet economy analyze and reinforce it.

In this connection Arnold Gren stated that ministry associates are now preparing a scientific and practical conference jointly with the ministries of the Latvian and Lithuanian SSRs and scientific institutions of these union republics. Prospects for further development of contacts between the Soviet Baltic area and contiguous states will be its theme.

"USSR foreign policy is unified; therefore, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of our republic is not conducting any special line, but is participating in the common work," continued Arnold Karlovich [Gren]. "The system which has fully proven itself has been set up, and in accordance with it the USSR MFA is the leading link in foreign

political work—it exercises the right to establish relations with foreign countries, sign agreements with them, exchange diplomatic representatives, and take part in the work of international organizations. Estonia does not have its own representatives abroad, but there are more than a few diplomats from Estonia on the staffs of the USSR embassies in various countries. The Estonian MFA also trains cadres for work abroad. The republic MFA's work has a regional character and is primarily related to countries encircling the Baltic Sea and countries of the socialist community. Estonian MFA workers analyze the foreign and domestic policy of states contiguous to or geographically close to the republic which affects Soviet Estonia. Proceeding from these bases, they present their own proposals to the USSR MFA.

Work related to the development of international contacts between the republic and foreign states in the field of culture, science and technology, education, health, sports, and tourism is also within the jurisdiction of the Estonian MFA. The republic MFA pays much attention to information and propaganda work, preparation for visits of leading foreign political figures to our republic, and the reception of foreign correspondents accredited in Moscow. Therefore, workers of the Estonian MFA help to organize visits to the republic by workers of these consulates and promote the rapid solution of various problems of interest to them.

Workers of the ministry provide constant support to the Estonian Society for Friendship and Cultural Ties with Foreign Countries and the Society for the Development of Cultural Ties with Estonians Abroad. Many of our compatriots abroad are sympathetic to Soviet Estonia and strive to learn more about its life and culture today. The Estonian MFA promotes these contacts with emigrants and tries to strengthen and develop them. The ministry considers as one of its tasks the need to assist in establishing business contacts with emigrant circles interested in developing economic and cultural contacts with the ESSR.

The Estonian MFA jointly with ESSR Gosplan are studying opportunities and developing the basic concepts of direct ties between republic industry and partners within the CEMA framework. The registration of all trips from Estonia to the socialist countries is now concentrated in Tallin: business trips, trips for noncurrency exchange, and recreation. This has reduced the flow of paper several fold and has stimulated contacts between many labor collectives of Estonia and their colleagues abroad. As a result, the number of official trips being registered has increased many fold. Ministry workers on trips abroad look for potential economic partners and then recommend them to enterprises in Estonia.

The role of our ministry has significantly increased during the course of perestroika, the minister stressed. It has been the practice for republic leaders, an Estonian MFA associate, and deputies of the Estonian Supreme

Soviet to become members of parliamentary delegations and as members of Soviet delegations to work in international symposiums and conferences; this promotes the explanation of the Soviet Union's foreign policy actions to our foreign partners. Thus, the Estonian Minister of Foreign Affairs Arnold Gren has been a member of the Soviet delegation to a session of the UN General Assembly three times. Last year he

headed the regional seminar-conference on settling the Near East problem in New York, and last year he was also leader of the Soviet delegations sent by the Soviet Committee for Defence of Peace to the Yemen Arab Republic and Madagascar.

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**Washington's Strategy in Asian-Pacific Region**  
*18070026a Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in  
Russian No 9, Sep 87 pp 2-5*

[Article by Candidate of Historical Sciences A. Voront-  
sov under the rubric "The Asian-Pacific Region": "New  
Trends in Washington Strategy"]

[Text] In disclosing in detail the theory that "the signif-  
icance of the Asian and Pacific sector is growing" in  
contemporary international policy that was contained in  
the documents of the 27th CPSU Congress, CPSU Gen-  
eral Secretary M.S. Gorbachev, in his speech in Vladi-  
vostok on 28 July 1986, formulated a new and compre-  
hensive approach by the Soviet Union in relation to the  
Asian-Pacific region. Having advanced an extensive pro-  
gram for reinforcing peace and collaboration in this

region, he emphasized that "without the United States and its participation, it is impossible to solve the problem of security and collaboration in the Pacific zone in a manner satisfactory to all. Washington, unfortunately, is not yet displaying a readiness for, or is even thinking about, a serious discussion on Pacific topics."

The foreign-policy practices of the current American administration demonstrates its desire to alter the "balance of forces" in the region decisively in its favor. Washington is striving to ensure the achievement of this aim to through an increase in activeness in all directions. In his Vladivostok speech, M.S. Gorbachev noted that since the second half of the 1970s, the United States has undertaken broad-scale measures to increase armed forces in the Pacific Ocean, as a result of which it is being transformed into an arena of military and political confrontation.

At the same time, the White House is devoting increased attention to the task of modernizing and increasing the effectiveness of the American system of allied relations in the region. One of the most important directions for these efforts is the attempt to create a structure of informal coalitional ties among its allies and partners in the Asian-Pacific region.

Having suffered defeat in the building of the "peripheral" blocs of CENTO, SEATO and others along the lines of NATO with its strict treaty obligations, well-defined structure and strict discipline, the Washington strategists have not come to reject the idea of alliance itself, but have rather resorted to new forms and methods for creating viable regional structures to ensure American interests.

The necessity of modernizing bloc ties was dictated by a whole series of factors in international life that were distinctly manifested at the end of the 1970s and beginning of the 1980s. The correlation of forces between the socialist and capitalist systems had been altered by this time. The ties of the USSR and the other socialist states with the developing countries, who were the active subjects of international relations, in the majority of instances conducting anti-imperialist policies, were considerably strengthened. Against the background of a relative weakening of United States positions in the world capitalist system, especially in the economic and political realms, a steady strengthening of "centers of power" in Asia, Africa and Latin America has occurred.

Under the new conditions, the American leaders have come to seek suitable means for reinforcing allied relations and preserving their positions in Asia. As noted by the well-known American political scientist D. Zagoria, the United States has come up against the problem of "preserving relations with allies and friends in the era of an erosion of alliances." The mutual relations of the United States as the leader of the military and political groupings and the other participants in them have become appreciably more difficult. Allied ties have come

to be characterized by considerably more flexibility than in the 1950s. At the same time, the aspirations of the United States to shift a significant portion of its own burden, making maximum use of its foreign-policy influence and economic and military opportunities in its strategic plans, can be distinctly traced.

The military-bloc ties in the Asian region were replenished with new substance to a certain extent with the coming to power of a Republican administration in the United States in 1981. The Asian strategy of R. Reagan is a constituent element of a global policy of the ruling circles in the United States that is aimed at achieving military superiority over the socialist countries and shifting the system of international relations into a state of direct opposition to and confrontation with the Soviet Union.

In the United States itself, as the magazine U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT writes, it is characterized thus: "After a decade of withdrawal and vacillation, the United States is undertaking an offensive in Asia, armed with the 'Reagan doctrine.'" Similar foreign-policy practices by Washington are naturally leading to a strengthening of the involvement of the developing countries of Asia in the global America-Soviet confrontation.

The foreign-policy program of R. Reagan relies on fundamental developments that have been made over a number of years by major research centers of a conservative thrust in the United States. One such concept, the positions of which are reflected in the foreign-policy activity of the Republicans, was developed by the leader of the Center for Strategic and International Studies of Georgetown University, R. Cline. He calls it the "all-ocean alliance."

In this construct and ones similar to it by American political scientists of a conservative bent, who today occupy the leading positions in the country's academic world, are reflected the globalization of the imperial pretensions of U.S. leadership and their aspirations for the maximum mobilization of all resources and possibilities for the Western camp and the achievement of a high degree of unity in it under the control of Washington in the confrontation with world socialism. The proponents of these concepts proceed from the preconditions that "it is currently practically impossible to implement an autonomous regional strategy. A threat in one strategic zone inevitably has a serious influence on others as well."<sup>1</sup>

According to the designs of R. Cline, this union should become as broad an organization as possible, fulfilling both the military and strategic functions of NATO and the trade and economic ones of the EEC, as well as encompassing the Pacific allies of the United States from Japan and South Korea to Australia and New Zealand and prosecuting the global interests of the "great trading states."



Reflecting the serious alarm of the right-wing conservative circles that are currently in power in the United States and their nostalgia for the times of the former might of America, R. Cline emphasizes that "the creation of an all-ocean alliance is the sole way of accomplishing the global obligations of the United States in the conflict situations close to war that are characteristic of our day... This is the sole way of correcting the unfavorable changes in the balance of forces that are transpiring today."

The creators of contemporary American strategy thereby take into account the fact that such a broad union of the most varied of states can prove viable only when it has an informal nature that preserves adequate freedom of action for its members. They formulate their aims as such: "U.S. strategy should be focused on activating informal bilateral relations with nations that have a vested interest in creating a voluntary 'all-ocean alliance.' Membership in the all-ocean alliance will not require the signing of new agreements. The voluntary obligations of collaboration and unofficial working agreements for integrated maritime and air patrol service with ground bases can be devised by means of conventional diplomacy."

Apropos of the Asian-Pacific region, this broad coalition of states seems to many individuals in the ruling and academic circles of the West to be a form of "Pacific community" whose plans and prospects for formation have been actively discussed over a number of years. Desiring to ensure the dominant positions in the future broad organization as much as possible in a direction advantageous for it, Washington is striving to integrate official or unofficial regional coalitional groupings under the aegis of the United States that either exist already or are in the process of structural formation.

Many representatives of the leadership and academic circles of the United States were until recently struck with the nature of relations within the ANZUS bloc, which really served Washington in the postwar period in the cause of ensuring its interests in the southern part of the Pacific Ocean and which they were ready to accept as a model for the "Pacific community." American and Australian political scientists R. Meyers and G. Albinskiy, for example feel that "the bilateral relations between the countries in the ANZUS bloc could serve as a model for a new type of collaboration between the United States and the countries in the Asian-Pacific region."

A change in leadership in Australia, and especially in New Zealand, however, where Laborite parties came to power in 1983-84, introduced serious corrections in the nature of the relations within the bloc, and the situation in this alliance, which had always been highly regarded in Washington, is currently evoking unconcealed irritation there.

One cause of the crises that ANZUS is currently suffering is, possibly, the rigidity of the very nature of the official allied ties and their insufficient flexibility. The ties extant within the bloc have proved unable to adapt to the changing conditions in such a way as to perceive the change in Wellington's positions as only one aspect of military collaboration with the United States within the framework of the alliance—"nuclear."

An evolution of the mutual relations of the United States and allies from the state of a "patron-client" type toward a state that has been defined in Soviet literature as "asymmetrical mutual dependency" is currently underway. In this situation, the allies and partners of Washington are acquiring comparatively greater opportunities for achieving their own autonomous interests, which the United States has had to deal with, where they have begun to recognize that "a strengthening of certain aspects of allied relations should be accompanied by the reinforcement of the independence of the allies."<sup>2</sup>

Informal coalitional ties as are being developed in particular within the framework of the United States-Japan-South Korea "triad" are apparently felt in Washington to be the type of relations that best meets modern conditions. The United States, which has treaties for the "defense of security" with Japan and South Korea, is not striving for the legal formulation of allied relations between Tokyo and Seoul today, although it is encouraging the spread of the close collaboration that is extant between them in the economic sphere and the military and political realms.

Such an informal nature of ties evidently suits all of the members of the "triad," since, leaving sufficient freedom of action in foreign policy, it makes it possible to take into account and ease the negative effects of a whole set of extremely serious differences of opinion and contradictions among them and to avoid to a certain extent a worsening of problems associated with the unequal status of its members. This circumstance facilitates the achievement—naturally, in accordance with their capabilities—of their own common and autonomous goals in the international arena, first and foremost in the Asian-Pacific region, by all of the participants in the given structure. Many Western specialists evidently thus assume that "the existing trilateral partnership of South Korea, Japan and the United States should be transformed into a system of even closer collaboration in order to become the core of the Asian-Pacific community."

The ASEAN organization is also at the focus of their attention. One of the authors of the "Pacific idea," Japanese economist K. Kojima, asserts that a system of collaboration among Japan, South Korea and Taiwan as well "could easily be created, and then as a result of their regional cooperation with the members of ASEAN, a Pacific Trade and Development Organization (PTDO) could be formed."

The initiators of the "Pacific idea," forced to consider the opinions of the majority of countries in the region, including ASEAN, emphasize that this organization will not be of a political nature and should be open to all countries of the Pacific basin, even the socialist states of the region, after the creation of a higher leadership mechanism.

Such peace-loving rhetoric could hardly confuse objective observers, the more so as a series of American political figures and scholars have made definitive statements regarding the tasks and prospects of this group. R. Solomon, for example, asserts: "In the 1980s, a Pacific community will possibly appear as a form of economic and political regionalism, summoned to strengthen the coalition of friendly states for the purpose of stabilizing Asia in the face of the challenges of the 1980s and subsequent years." R. Cline spoke even more candidly apropos of this: "If favorable trends for the creation of a Pacific community are realized, the balance of power will gradually incline toward the United States."

In light of the aforementioned, the evaluation of the efforts of the ruling circles in the West in this direction contained in the Declaration of the Soviet Government of 24 April 1986 is absolutely justified. It points out the most selective approach of certain political circles in the United States and Japan toward the composition of the possible participants in the "Pacific community," emphasizing that as a result of the efforts of its initiators it "can in the future be transformed into a closed regional grouping, into another militarist bloc."

The well-founded nature of such judgments is confirmed by the concrete foreign-policy practices of Washington, especially its attempts to channel the development of ASEAN in the direction of transforming it into a military organization under the aegis of the United States. Exploiting the emotions and apprehensions of the leaders of some countries in Southeast Asia in relation to the situation in Kampuchea, the Pentagon is striving in turn to draw them more deeply into its strategy via a considerable increase in military aid to them and the encouragement of their own activeness in the military realm: increases in military spending, joint military maneuvers, including with the participation of the United States etc.

The diplomatic activeness of a true American ally—Seoul—calls attention to itself in this regard, in recent years an energetic proponent of accelerating the process of creating a "Pacific community" and expanding arms trade with the ASEAN countries, which, as justly regarded by political observers, lies in the channel of Washington's policies, especially strengthening the military element of the future "community" and the militarization of ASEAN.

The materials of a strategic directive approved by U.S. Secretary of Defense C. Weinberger in the spring of 1982 testify to the true aims of the American administration in regard to this group. It indicates in particular that in

Southeast Asia "it is necessary to reinforce the strength and unity of ASEAN... with further increases in the capabilities of members of the organization to support the spread of U.S. military might from the western portion of the Pacific Ocean into the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf."

Among the important events in international life in the Asian-Pacific region and the Indian Ocean in the first half of the 1980s was the appearance of two new organizations for regional collaboration: the Council for the Collaboration of Arab States in the Persian Gulf (CCASPG) in 1981 (Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, the UAE and Oman) and the Organization for Regional Collaboration in Southern Asia (ORCSA) made up of India, Pakistan, Sri-Lanka, Nepal, Bangladesh, Bhutan and the Maldives in 1983.

From the first days of the creation of these regional groups, appearing as the result of an objective trend toward the integration of business life, they proved to be the focus of attention for the leading imperialist powers, and first and foremost the United States and Japan, which are trying to direct their development in directions advantageous to them and, evidently, consider them substantial components of the planned broad informal coalitional structure.

A strengthening of the military aspects of the activity of the CCASPG, within the framework of which united armed forces called "Shield of the Peninsula" have even already been created, has recently been observed by virtue of a series of factors in the development of the international situation and under the influence of U.S. policies. The Japanese government is energetically welcoming the creation of the ORCSA and has offered financial assistance, demonstrating a serious vested interest in the fact that "ORCSA is rapidly being transformed into a tool of regional collaboration."<sup>3</sup>

The foreign-policy practices of the imperialist powers in the zone of the developing countries of Asia to stimulate informal coalitional ties, including the enhanced attention toward various regional groupings such as ASEAN, CCASPG and ORCSA, confirms the well-founded nature of the warning expressed in the Declaration of the Soviet Government: "The world has borne witness more than once as the chimera of economic assistance and economic collaboration and objective processes of internationalization and integration of the world economy have been used to further and fortify imperialist plans for the creation of military groupings, 'mutual-defense treaties' and the like."

The incarnation of the Asian policies of the ruling circles in the United States in contemporary times demonstrates the desire to mobilize allies and friendly states and to control them along with their deeper involvement in implementing U.S. strategies on both a global and a regional level. They are striving toward these tasks via the reinforcement of existing allied relations as well as

stimulating new coalitional ties. A second path herein, the development of informal coalitional relations with friends and allies, seems to be a priority one under contemporary conditions. The former commander of U.S. armed forces in the Pacific, Adm N. Gaylor, was convinced of the following: "The chief impediment to allied strategy in eastern Asia consists of the fact that the majority of the countries in the region are striving to avoid direct obligations for collective defense... The most realistic model is thus a mighty America reinforced by a free Pacific community in various forms: from the official alliance of ASEAN to the minute provisions of the American-Japanese 'security treaty.' The creation of a military alliance is a more difficult process which requires time, money and political will."

#### Footnotes

1. "U.S. Foreign Policy and Asian-Pacific Security. A Transregional Approach." Boulder, Colorado. "Westview Press," 1982, p 3. 2. Rhee Sung Hon. Asia and the Pacific in the Changing World Order. Report as the Moscow IPSA Congress of August 12-18, 1979. International Political Science Association, p 20. 3. *Hindustan Times*, 17 Apr 1986.

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#### Privileges of Industrial Proletariat in Developing Countries

18070026b Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 9, Sep 87 pp 20-23

[Article by Candidate of Economic Sciences Ye. Popov under the rubric "Problems and Discussion": "The Question of the 'Privileged Nature' of the Industrial Proletariat of the Developing Countries"]

[Text] Very many political figures in the young states, bourgeois scholars of the most varied of persuasions, liberals and thinkers of a leftist-radical bent feel that the proletariat in the modern sector of the economies<sup>1</sup> of the developing countries are a "privileged minority" among the workers. The leftist radicals extract from this an "absence" of revolutionary potential among them, allocating it just to the hapless masses of the peasantry and representatives of the urban lower classes. Judgments of the "inflated nature" of wages for the industrial proletariat have become a component of the "strategy of paramount needs (basic requirements)," developed by experts at the International Labor Organization [ILO] and the economists of various theoretical and classical orientations aligned with it.<sup>2</sup> This concept defines to this day the main directions of research work and practical activity of the ILO in the liberated states.<sup>3</sup>

The proponents of such opinions refer to a series of indisputable facts and trends. First of all, wages in the modern sector of the economies of the developing countries are significantly higher than the income of other workers. Even unskilled industrial workers receive an average of two to three times more than peasants and individuals employed in the urban sphere of manual labor. Real wages are frequently increased in the modern sector, especially in the African countries, at the same time as the income of the principal body of workers concentrated in rural locales is reduced.

Second, workers in the modern sector enjoy certain attainments in the realm of social insurance and security and the norms of labor legislation, while official minimum wages are extended to them; for the majority of the remaining workers, all of this is almost unheard of.

Third, in addition to state social guarantees, industrial workers have social protection on the part of their own professional organizations. Even under authoritarian regimes, under the conditions of a prohibition on strikes, trade unions are able to defend the interests of the proletariat to this or that extent.

Fourth, the economic status of the workers in the modern sector serves as a powerful factor attracting masses of the unfortunate rural inhabitants into the cities, which worsens the problems of employment, housing and food supply there.

Fifth, the relatively high wages at modern-type enterprises stimulate the application of labor-conserving technologies, which restrains the expansion of employment and furthers growth in unemployment. According to an exceedingly widespread opinion, the higher the wages of those who have work, the less work and income remains for those who do not have it.

Sixth, many adherents of a neo-classical approach among bourgeois economists feel that any material deviation from market proportions is "abnormal." From their point of view, the presence of widespread structural unemployment and appreciable socio-economic barriers in labor markets testifies to the "inflated nature" of wages in the modern sector of the economy.<sup>4</sup>

In a climate of increasing unemployment and poverty, economic difficulties, social inequality and the spread of egalitarian ideas, the facts mentioned above are considered to be proof of the "privileged nature" of the industrial proletariat and are often used by the authorities to justify anti-worker measures and policies of wage freezes, especially during periods of worsening economic competitive-market conditions.

Insofar as the assertions of the "privileged nature" of mill and plant workers in the developing world are based first and foremost on the concept of the "inflated nature" of their wages and norms of social security and insurance, our attention will be centered on a critical

analysis of just these concepts. Their proponents ignore the obvious circumstance that the value of the workforce in the modern sector of the economy is much greater than in others. This excess, reflecting the special role of the industrial proletariat in the process of socio-economic re-arrangement of society and the special quality of its labor, serves as an objective basis for the higher wages and more significant social attainments of the workers in the modern sector.

It is generally accepted that the economic development of the liberated countries is being slowed most powerfully by the backwardness of their agriculture. According to prevailing estimates, however, the output of 2.7 units of industrial product is necessary for the production of one unit of agrarian production.<sup>5</sup> This assertion alone demonstrates the special social utility of labor in the modern sector. This labor requires greater precision and discipline and the ability to handle complex and expensive equipment (every job in the modern enterprise costs 15,000-20,000 dollars<sup>6</sup>). Finally, it ultimately provides for considerably higher productivity. According to the calculations of Soviet researcher B.M. Bolotin, it was seven times higher than that of agricultural production in Latin America in 1980 along with almost four times greater in the industries of the countries of southern and Southeast Asia, 13 times higher in the Near and Middle East and 11 times in Africa.<sup>7</sup> Annual output from one employee in the "organized" and "unorganized" sectors of industry (which corresponds to a certain extent to the factory and non-factory sectors) was: 885,000 and 241,000 cruzeiros in Brazil (1980), 64,000 and 36,000 rupees in Pakistan (1980), 1,543 and 688 shillings in Kenya (1976), 37,000 and 27,000 Hong Kong dollars in Hong Kong (1976) etc.<sup>8</sup>

Naturally, greater production requires a higher "quality of life" for the workers. Even K. Marx pointed out the role of consumption in the development of the workforce, emphasizing that the expansion of consumption activity by the laborer forms and improves his personality. He noted that in the thirst for accumulation, "capital drives labor beyond the bounds of the needs of the worker conditioned by nature and in that manner creates the material elements for the development of a rich individuality that is at once an all-round one in its production and its consumption." Capitalist production develops "an involvement in consumption," and consumption "engenders the abilities of the producer."<sup>9</sup> Soviet scholars have argued these positions in detail apropos of the conditions of the liberated states.<sup>10</sup>

Meanwhile, the proponents of the neo-classical strain of bourgeois economic science are striving to prove that in the face of the shortage of capital typical of the developing regions, any increase in consumption is a deduction from productive accumulation and thus slows economic growth.<sup>11</sup> But even in the West, more and more researchers are coming to the conclusion that without a substantial increase in consumption, including public services, it is impossible to create a highly productive proletariat of

a modern type, that in this sense growth in consumption by workers is "an investment in the future." We read, however, that "There is no doubt... that raising the level of productivity, health and socio-economic aspirations is associated with improving housing conditions."<sup>12</sup> Or: "The better satisfaction of the paramount needs of the workers can serve as a real cause for increasing labor productivity."<sup>13</sup> The Japanese author K. Kurosawa has even developed a special system for the quantitative evaluation of the effect of the most important components of the quality of life of the workers—food, housing conditions, education and professional training, health care, transportation—on individual factors that facilitate a rise in labor productivity.<sup>14</sup> A whole area of corresponding inquiry is actually taking shape today.

The dependence between quality of life and level of consumption by workers, on the one hand, and the productivity of their labor, on the other, has received quite palpable practical confirmation. Collective agreements dedicated to raising productivity (productivity agreements [English given]) have become more and more widespread in the developing countries. They are concluded chiefly in the modern sector of the most developed liberated states and are based on the following principle: trade unions sanction improvements in production organization and technology and the personnel movements associated with them, while the employers are obliged to take certain steps to improve the quality of life, working conditions and the training of the workers, most often also including an increase in wages. Both sides feel that this is a "package deal based on equal exchange."<sup>15</sup>

At one time, the National Commission on Labor Issues of India circulated a questionnaire among governmental and academic institutions, the leaders of state and private enterprises, trade unions, cooperatives etc. Among the questions was the following: "What effect does the presence of social insurance have on personnel stability?" Some 189 answers voted "positive," including 116 employers. Only 40 respondents answered "negative, none or almost none," including 34 employers.<sup>16</sup> Based on practical experience, a clear majority confirmed the positive link between the development of social insurance, which still encompasses chiefly the modern sector of the economy, and factors that directly foster growth in labor productivity. And the dependence between the long-term historical dynamics of real wages and labor productivity had already long been acknowledged by economists. Even K. Marx had pointed it out.<sup>17</sup>

The level of the value of the workforce in the modern sector of the economy is not connected with labor productivity alone. The well-known American economist S. Kuznets has justly noted that an increase in production is frequently caused to a lesser extent by labor productivity in and of itself as it is by a rise in the quality of the workforce that cannot be reduced to this factor. Such an increase in particular "is directly connected with a change in living standards as a result of

economic growth and the shifts in the structure of production associated with it (for example, with an increase in personal spending on sanitation, hygiene and the like in cities or government spending essential to regulate large-scale production, implement urbanization policies or resolve analogous problems).<sup>18</sup> It is sometimes difficult to delimit herein the effect of various factors, determine the nature of their influence and provide quantitative evaluations. For instance, "it is quite difficult to separate the ultimate spending on foodstuffs, dress and other attributes of the 'good life' from that spending that is brought about on this plane by changes in the nature of work, or to demarcate long-term 'investment' in education for the purpose of joining a more modern way of life and those investments as a factor of production."<sup>19</sup> Posing the question of the need to elucidate such interconnections, S. Kuznets speaks in well-founded fashion of the presence of some intangible factor difficult to perceive of the "residual efficiency" of labor, which cannot be directly explained by investments in education and professional training or in improving the living and working conditions of the workers and employees.<sup>20</sup>

It seems that the factor of "residual efficiency" of labor is directly connected to the formation of a new quality of the workforce and the "intangible" socio-psychological and physiological aspects of this process, which most actively manifests itself in industry of a modern type. The accelerated—compared to the "natural" European rates—transformation of the archaic peasant masses into detachments of industrial workers signifies for them a break with traditional communities and ties, accustomed socio-psychological stereotypes and value systems, attachment to the land, to manual implements of labor, to consolidated work skills and rhythms, a gradual adaptation to alien urban conditions and norms, to processes of individualization, to the labor market, to social and professional mobility, to industrial discipline and the everyday monotony of factory work, to new stereotypes of precision, thrift, nervous stresses, periodicity, a new circle of social and industrial relations, and to the necessity of civil actions and class representations in defense of their own interests.

The adaption to modern technology requires too much effort for the African worker and does not correspond to his customs and cultural legacy, asserts the Nigerian economist Onyemelukwe.<sup>21</sup> A typical instance: in the developing countries the owners of plants and factories prefer to hire people with a higher general educational level not so much because they are necessary to master complex equipment so much as assuming that these people will understand and fulfill production tasks better, will be more mobile and will better adapt to the changing production situation, and that work of a higher quality can be expected of them.<sup>22</sup>

The conversion of the peasant into an industrial worker is an epochal transformation requiring enormous social spending that can scarcely be precisely measured. Spread

out over several centuries, apportioning its value in portions over tens of generations, this transformation looked to be "free" in Europe. But "compressed" in time, it plainly demonstrated its true price in the developing regions. In Africa, for example, where the formation of detachments of industrial workers occurred in especially short time periods, it proved possible to transform the seasonal peasants into a stable and productive industrial proletariat in the 1940s-1960s only by raising their real earnings by two or three times and more.<sup>23</sup> This testifies to the considerable magnitude of the moral and socio-historical components of the value of the workforce in the modern sector of the economy.

As the calculations of economists show, the quality of labor in the countries of the West, largely determined by these components of the formation of labor resources, was the deciding and leading factor of economic growth in the 20th century—notwithstanding the balanced nature of the levels of development of the workforce and the means of production.<sup>24</sup> This relates all the more so to the developing countries, where the quality of the workforce and the "human factor" in general with all of its socio-psychological and physiological "nuances" that are not subject to measurement is an obvious "bottleneck" to the processes of modernization.

Ignoring the moral and socio-historical components of the value of the workforce, bourgeois economists of a neo-classical orientation reduce the matter to more or less precisely measurable market parameters in their calculations of the "social value" ("shadow prices") of labor. Addressing such a set of variables as the real level of wages and maximum labor productivity in various sectors of the economy, the maximum social productivity of capital, savings norms for entrepreneurial income, aggregate savings norms, socially essential interest, the influence of employment expansion on income distribution and other factors, they conclude that "economically substantiated" "shadow prices" for labor are 1.5-3 times lower than the real level, and this means that they should be reduced.

It is instructive, however, that in the face of every determination not to allow "excessive" growth in wages in the modern sector, government officials in the developing countries, frequently very inclined to carry out anti-worker policies, are in no way hastening to fulfill the recommendations of the neo-classical economists. O. McDiarmid, quoted above, complains of the universal reluctance to calculate and make use of "shadow" wage valuations. "The answers of officials" that he received in the countries of eastern and Southeast Asia "varied from skeptical to openly negative... In some instances, for example at Philippines University, economic scholars were working on this topic, but without any appreciable enthusiasm."<sup>25</sup>

Such a position is not surprising. One need not be a profound theoretician to understand that the level of wages of the industrial proletariat reflects the objective

social utility of their labor, and a serious reduction in the wages for that labor (relative to other labor income) at the expense of its "unseen" moral and socio-historical components inevitably destabilizes the industrial-worker personnel, leads to a fall in discipline, quality and labor productivity and inflicts unjustifiable damage on the modern sector of the economy. Namely for this reason, the authorities of the overwhelming majority of the young states, in no way having in mind "indulging the greed of the privileged minority" (as they are often described in the demands of trade unions), continue by their policy of an official minimum wage to support a substantial rift between labor income in the modern sector and outside the bounds of it. They are steadfastly conducting a policy that the neo-classical economists call with open reproach "a policy of expensive labor and cheap capital."

Despite the criticism from the most varied of parties, notwithstanding the accusations that in that manner the practice of developing industry and the cities at the expense of agriculture and the hapless villages begun under the colonizers is being continued thereby, extremely dissimilar national political regimes have preserved these policies fundamentally unchanged over the last two or three decades. It is noteworthy that the greatest rift between wages in the modern sector and other labor income is observed in the least developed of the liberated countries, where a state policy of official minimum wages plays an especially active regulating role, while the ideology of equalization manifests itself very visibly. Such are real confirmations of the objectively substantiated nature of relatively high values for industrial manpower and its social attainments.

We will address the facts that are important from an economic point of view. First, a clear shortage of skilled workers is felt, as rule, in the developing regions. The lag of supply behind demand furthers the rise in wages for skilled industrial labor. Second, real wages for the industrial proletariat in the developing countries have increased much more slowly than the productivity of their labor. According to the calculations of B.M. Bolotin, real labor productivity in the industry of the liberated states of Asia (with the exception of the Near and Middle East) increased by 3.2 times in 1950-1980, while real wages in the industry of the majority of these states over the indicated period almost did not change at all. Having reached the prewar level in the 1950s, they later barely exceeded it anywhere. The situation of the workers was improved somewhat chiefly thanks to reductions in the workday (week), the development of social-security and social-insurance systems, education, health care and the like. Real wages on the African continent in industry, transport and communications, public services etc. most often either fell or remained unchanged in the 1970s. On the other hand, labor productivity grew by 25 percent in industry, 40 percent in construction and 42 percent in transport and

communications. Labor productivity in Latin America tripled in industry and increased by 2.5 times in transport, communications and construction over 1950-1980, while real wages in the majority of instances increased by 1.5-2 times.<sup>26</sup> It is not surprising that the extent of the exploitation of labor in the industrial sector is very high, and it frequently reaches 200-400 percent, first and foremost in the countries of Latin America.

Finally, we will consider the absolute standard of living of the industrial proletariat. It is, naturally, different in different developing countries: it is higher in Latin America and lower in the Asian and African states. Overall, however, if one approaches it using the standards of the industrial powers, this level cannot be called anything but a poverty level.

Take, for example, the industrial workers of Zambia, who, according to general opinion, had become the most "well-provided" detachment of the proletariat in sub-Saharan Africa by the end of the 1960s. Inquiry has shown that by the end of the 1960s and beginning of the 1970s, a working family could purchase primarily only flour items, comprising the basis of their foodstuffs, a little sugar, tea, coffee, everyday trifles, and, with additional earnings, bicycles and radios. They consumed very little beer and cigarettes, the output of which represented over 40 percent of the net output of the country's processing industry. According to official estimates, a family living on the average wage of the modern worker could barely exist for month without going into debt.<sup>27</sup> Since that time, real wages for Zambian workers have declined an average of 20-30 percent.<sup>28</sup>

Taking all of the aforementioned into account, one cannot speak of the "privileged nature" of the industrial proletariat of the young states or the "inflated nature" of their wages and norms of social security. Assertions of that type, whatever the subjective motives that predetermined them, are objectively suited only to those circles that are striving to solve difficult problems of socio-economic development at the expense of the interests of the vanguard of the working class.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. The terms "modern workers" and "industrial (industry) proletariat" are used synonymously.
2. "Employment, Growth and Basic Needs. A One-World Problem." ILO. Geneva, 1976.
3. The theory of the "privileged nature" of the working class of a contemporary type, that it is supposedly a "workers' aristocracy," has been considered by Soviet researcher S.I. Kuznetsova, who addresses primarily the standard of living and social activeness of the proletariat (see, for example, S. Kuznetsova. *The So-Called Privileged Status of the African Proletariat*.—*AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA*, 1979, Nos 1, 2).
4. See, for example, O.J. McDiarmid. *Unskilled Labor for Development*:

Its Economic Cost. Baltimore, 1977, p 8. 5. See "UNIDO Doc. OED. 140. 18 Jul 85." p 2. 6. See "Technologies which are Appropriate for Meeting Social Objectives of Developing Countries." ILO. Geneva, 1985, p 14. 7. See "The International Workers' Movement. Questions of History and Theory." Vol 7. Moscow, 1985, p 105. 8. See "Industry in the 1980s. Structural Change and Interdependence." New York, 1985, pp 141-142. 9. K. Marx and F. Engels. Works, Vol 46, Part 1, pp 281, 29. 10. See, for example, Yu.M. Osipov. "Razvivayushchiyesya strany: finansirovaniye i inflyatsiya" [The Developing Countries. Finance and Inflation]. Moscow, 1978, pp 108-116. 11. See, for example, W. Gelanson. Social Security and Economic Development.—"Industrial and Labor Relations Review," New York, 1968, Vol 21, No 4, p 559. 12. P.J. Richards. Hausing [as published] and Employment.—"International Labour Review," January-February 1979, p 14. 13. Jean Mayer. Workers' Well-Being and Productivity: The Role of Bargaining.—"International Labour Review," 1983, Vol 122, No 3, p 346. 14. Kazukiyo Kurosawa. Un enfoque estructural del concepto y medicion de la productividad.—"Seminario sobre productividad y politica de empleo." Ministerio de Economia, Madrid, Noviembre 1979, pp 79-89. 15. Yves Delamotte. The Social Partners Face the Problems of Productivity and Employment. OECD. Paris, 1971, p 21. 16. "National Commission on Labour, Analysis of Replies to Commission's Questionnaire. Vol V: Incentives, Productivity and Social Security." Delhi, January 1969, pp 139-142. 17. See K. Marx. Das Kapital. Vol 1, Ch. 20. 18. Simon Kuznets. Economic Growth of Nations. Total Output and Production Structure. Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1971, p 307. 19. Ibid., pp 307-398. 20. See Simon Kuznets. Modern Economic Growth. Rate, Structure and Spread. New Haven and London, 1966, pp 184-185. 21. See C. Onyemelukwe. Economic Underdevelopment—An Inside Look. London, 1974, p 36. 22. See Mark Blaug. Education and the Employment Problem in Developing Countries. ILO. Geneva, 1973, pp 28, 35. 23. See Ye.S. Popov. The Movement of Real Wages of the Industrial Proletariat of the Developing Countries.—NARODY AZII I AFRIKI, 1984, No 2. 24. In the West, a sharp increase in attention to problems of the quality of work is being noted from the appearance of the famous work of American economist E. Dennison, where he demonstrated in particular that in 1909-1957 the growth in real national income in the United States was more than 85-percent provided by improvements in the quality of labor (see E.F. Dennison. The Sources of Economic Growth in the United States and the Alternatives before U.S. Committee for Economic Development. Supplementary Paper No. 13. New York, 1962, pp 81-82. 25. O.J. McDiarmid. Op. cit., p 41. 26. See Ye.S. Popov. Op.cit.: the calculations for the dynamics of labor productivity were given to the author by B.M. Bolotin. 27. Ann Seidman. The Distorted Growth of Import-Substitution Industry: the

Zambian Case.—"The Journal of Modern African Studies," 1974, Vol 12, No 4, p 606. 28. Calculated from James Fry. Employment and Income Distribution in the African Economy. London, 1979, table 4.4. "ILO Yearbook of Labour Statistics," 1980; 1985.

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### Anti-Developing World Stance of U.S. Media Alleged

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[Article by Ye. Mova under the rubric "Ideology and Politics": "The American Mass Media Versus the Developing World"]

[Text] Psychological warfare was officially proclaimed a constituent element of U.S. foreign policy in the 1980s. Operations conducted by it for the purpose of influencing the minds of people in the liberated countries in particular have reached an unprecedented scope. A global information and propaganda system of imperialism is being created under the aegis of Washington, and the so-called "Truth" and "Program of Democracy and Public Diplomacy" projects, with a particularly anti-Soviet and anti-communist thrust and not incidentally intended to justify the neoglobalist pretensions of the United States, are being realized.

In my opinion, Professor U.L. Wheelwright of Sydney University defined the strategic mission that imperialism is trying to resolve in the developing world in very apt fashion: "The essence of decolonization on the part of the mother states consists of a desire to ensure such a situation where the nationalistic leaders taking up the reins of government from them are not too hostile to international capitalism, and in the worst case maintain neutrality and, of course, do not bring their countries into the communist camp."

That is the perspective from which should be viewed the efforts of the United States and its allies, with the aid of a carefully planned propaganda offensive against Asia, Africa and Latin America, to incorporate into the public consciousness of the three continents every sort of pro-Western stereotype and ideologically to disarm the disarmament movement. "Bourgeois propaganda," states the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress, "rains down expertly juggled information, foists ideas and feelings and programs a civil and social position that is advantageous to the ruling powers."<sup>1</sup>



It would be quite erroneous to downplay the extent of the influence of this propaganda, especially in those countries that have only recently entered onto the path of independent historical creation.

Energetic steps are being undertaken in the United States so as to bind the activity of the mass media more closely with the foreign policies of Washington. A special presidential commission on issues of "public diplomacy," with highly placed members from the State and Defense departments, the National Security Council and the International Development Agency, has recommended a strengthening of coordination between the chief governmental propaganda department—the United States Information Agency (USIA)—and foreign-policy institutions, an increase of almost a third in agency personnel, a rise in the status as well as the effectiveness of the work of its research center and the use of the results of this research in preparing these or those U.S. steps in the international arena.

Today, according to data in the American press, annual state spending for the upkeep of a colossal United States apparatus for foreign-policy propaganda totals about five billion dollars. The USIA budget for 1988 will approach a billion dollars, and by 1989 should grow by another 128 million. Since 1980, according to the testimony of the LOS ANGELES TIMES, it has increased faster than the budget of the Pentagon.

One reason for such a rapid ascent in the appropriations for the handling of foreign opinion was cited by USIA Director Ch. Wick in an appearance before Congress: "Our values are being doubted by many developing countries." He also declared that his department is the "front line of America in the war of ideas" and that the key task of USIA is to ensure for the United States the "role of leader of the free world."

#### Mouthpieces of "American Ideas"

A considerable portion of the funds allocated for the USIA—one and a half billion dollars by the end of this decade—is envisaged to be spent on a radical modernization and increase in the volume of broadcasting by the Voice of America radio station. The current occupant of the White House said in one of his speeches: "But for all of the years that the Voice of America did not receive proper attention, many more people around the world could hear its transmissions more clearly. That is why our administration has taken up the modernization of the radio station with the determination that Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy at one time took up the implementation of the program of space exploration."

The audience of Voice of America, today comprising, according to USIA calculations, 130 million people, is planned for substantial expansion via improvements in existing transmitters and the creation of new ones. A major radio center that will broadcast in 50 languages of

the peoples of Asia and Africa is being created in Sri Lanka. New relay stations are being built in Botswana, Honduras, Israel, Morocco and Thailand.

The televised analogue of Voice of America is the Worldnet network, which the USIA is weaving according to one of the 44 projects that have been reckoned for the 20-year Program of Democracy and Public Diplomacy. Even today, Worldnet embraces dozens of Afro-Asian countries with the aid of communications satellites.

Among the largest state institutions that are fabricating and disseminating the informational and propagandistic materials needed by the U.S. government and, more precisely, carrying out ideological operations, we find... the CIA. As the director of the New York Institute for the Research of Media Information, W. Sharp, declared in reference to the data of the U.S. Congress, about a third of the American intelligence budget is spent on foreign political propaganda, and moreover that the CIA has more correspondents working abroad than the Associated Press, UPI and Reuters taken together. "Any American journalist who is abroad for any length of time and has no contacts with the CIA is simply doing his job badly," asserted Pulitzer Prize laureate K. Beach, who himself served 30 years in Asia as a correspondent for the CHICAGO DAILY NEWS. Aside from everything else, these contacts assume the "pushing" of reports prepared by the CIA into the local press, and the CIA, in the words of K. Beach, also gives direct instructions to journalists—to illuminate this event or be silent about that one in the developing world.

CIA propaganda specialists are operating in many Afro-Asian states under the "cover" of private information agencies and press organs, fulfilling, as the WASHINGTON POST wrote, the mission of "spreading information on the external world, especially about the Soviet Union, so as to further the strategic interests of the United States."

The U.S. armed forces have their own propaganda channels at their disposal in various parts of the globe. Professor J. Tinstall of London University, the author of "Information Media—American," cites information on the Pentagon-controlled radio stations Far East Broadcasting on the Japanese islands, Team Radio in South Korea, Transworld Radio in Monte Carlo and others. The radio and television service of the American armed forces includes about 400 stations in all grouped in five principal networks. Their transmissions are intended to a considerable extent for the populations of those developing countries where American servicemen are located—and the Pentagon has fifteen hundred bases and other facilities with roughly 530,000 personnel in 32 states today.

Many press publications of the U.S. Defense Department are also aimed at the general reader in the Third World. The "foreign" audience for the Pacific edition of the American military newspaper STARS AND



STRIPES alone numbers no less than a million people in South Korea, Thailand, Malaysia, the Philippines, Guam etc. The European edition is distributed in 44 states in Western Europe, the Near East and North Africa.

U.S. monopoly capital is naturally not a bystander in the fight for influence on the public in the liberated countries. "...American multinational super-monopolies, as a rule, actively fulfill the role of the bearers of state hegemonism and the imperial lusting of the ruling powers of that country,"<sup>2</sup> it was noted at the 27th CPSU Congress. Propaganda organs subordinate to the government and the mass media belonging to the corporations are comprise a unified whole and act in synchrony.

The White House takes upon itself the immediate role of their supreme coordinator. This is another innovation of the Reagan administration in the realm of propaganda and the manipulation of public opinion both within the United States and abroad. The idea consists of creating a special government television company that would transmit, with the aid of satellite communications, programs on any functions with the participation of the American president, even information on him and his policies, to the whole world in the form in which it was prepared by the White House apparatus.

I will return, however, to private channels of information expansion by the United States in the developing countries. It is well known that the press occupies a solid position in many of them, belonging to foreign capital or controlled by it. Publications that receive subsidies from American and other Western monopolies are frequently concealed behind local names. Practically half of the developing world has no language barrier to the spread of newspapers, magazines, books, films and television programs produced in the United States: hundreds of millions of people in the former British colonies and other young states speak English. It must also be taken into account that some organs of the American press use several languages, including those of the peoples of Asia and Africa. The monthly *READER'S DIGEST*, for example, comes out in 17 languages with a total circulation of over 18 million copies. The *WALL STREET JOURNAL* has, among others, a special Asian edition. *TIME* magazine has 40 foreign editions. The largest news agency in the world, Associated Press, operates in the information markets of practically all states, which gave its director grounds to declare: "Today more than a billion people form their opinions on international events based on reports we provide." The UPI agency serves 800 newspapers and magazines, as well as about 300 radio stations, in more than 100 countries.

All of the mass-media organs enumerated above are in the hands of private capital and express the point of view of the monopoly bourgeoisie, defending the interests of American "big business" and the government of the United States in the developing countries.

### The Targets of Informational Diversions

In accordance with the "force" approach to international relations preferred by the American ruling circles today, every given developing country is considered either a potential adversary or a submissive ally of the United States. Washington tries to involve the young states in the sphere of military and political influence of imperialism with every means and method available to it, so as to multiply its aggregate forces in the fight against the world socialist system and national-liberation movements.

It can be asserted (and predicted with a great deal of confidence) that the principal targets of U.S. "informational diversions" in the developing world in the 1980s were (and will remain, at least within the period of activity of the current administration) the countries located in the "zones of vitally important interests" of America, as they are defined by the doctrine of "neoglobalism" and made concrete by the newly fashionable theory of "low-intensity conflicts." The propaganda offensive has become many times stronger against namely those states against which imperialism has unleashed and is today waging undeclared war through the hand of mercenaries and is committing armed provocations, against states that it sometimes threatens with overt aggressions.

One of the most everyday pretexts—accusations of affiliations with "international terrorism"—was used by Washington in its punitive acts against Libya, which were preceded by a massive slander campaign against that country and its leader. M. al-Qadhafi. "As for Libya," wrote the *WASHINGTON POST*, "it has become well known that the government conducted a campaign of disinformation, or simply put, lied to information organs and through them to the broad public, in striving to achieve its goal of eliminating Mu'ammar al-Qadhafi... The flame of this disinformation was to have engulfed the whole Near East."

The peak of the ideological diversions was reached on the night of 14 and 15 Apr 86, when American bombers dropped their deadly cargo on the peaceful cities of Tripoli and Benghazi. During these hours, the Arab service of the Voice of America transmitted a provocative "appeal to the Libyan people" 15 times in a row with a call to overthrow the government of the "sponsor of terrorists," Kaddafi. The official propaganda organ of the United States thus intervened with methods of psychological warfare in the internal affairs of Libya, reckoning on aggravating the panic engendered by the surprise night bombing and sowing discord among the population, evoking disorder in a sovereign state that did not wish to reject an independent foreign-policy course and subordinate its will to Washington.

The anti-Syrian campaign begun by Washington and taken up by London several months later, in the last weeks of 1986, was largely similar to the anti-Libyan

one: the same methods of psychological warfare against the public, the same accusations of supporting "international terrorism." The WASHINGTON POST published, for example, a long list of various tragic incidents for which Syria was supposedly responsible (this list included some terrorist acts that were earlier unreservedly ascribed to the Libyans). Strictly speaking, the goals of the propaganda press against Syria were identical to those that imperialism had prosecuted in trying to "punish" the Libyan Jamahiriya. They were pressure on a country conducting anti-imperialist policies in the hope of changing its orientation, diverting attention from the problems of a political settlement in the Near East and justifying the growing American military presence in the region.

The psychological warfare of the imperialist powers against Afghanistan, organized and coordinated by the United States, has taken on enormous scope. More than 50 Western radio stations are conducting underground Afghan broadcasts whose overall volume during the time the current Washington administration has been in power has increased by over 30 times and exceeds 100 hours a day.

The USIA has allocated half a million dollars to strengthen propaganda activity for the Afghan counter-revolution. Out of this total, 180,000 dollars will be sent to the journalism department at Boston University, where the rebels are being trained in press, film and television materials in compressed time periods, while the remainder of the funds will go to the creation of a so-called "Afghan News Service," the leadership of which will be entrusted to the King Features information syndicate. The overall leadership for the realization of the program is being carried out by the CIA.

It is typical that the policy of national reconciliation that has been proclaimed in the country by the government of Afghanistan has not instigated the CIA or the USIA to drop their plans. On the contrary, since the middle of January 1987, they have imparted even greater sweep to the psychological warfare, while in February, with the mediation of international anti-Afghan organizations, they set about arranging a "humanitarian information service" and came out with the first issue of a bulletin called BEHIND THE LINES, which praises the actions of the counter-revolutionary groups that are rejecting national reconciliation.

Global imperialist propaganda, and first and foremost American, is providing systematic disinformation for the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America regarding the state of affairs in the young states that have selected the progressive path of development, have declared their adherence to scientific socialism and are accepting the internationalist aid and assistance of the Soviet Union, and it is discrediting in every way possible the efforts of the ruling revolutionary-democratic parties that are aimed at eliminating the sway of Western monopolies, abolishing the privileges of tribal elders and feudal lords,

reinforcing the state sector of the economy, encouraging cooperative movements in the villages and raising the role of the workers in political and economic life.

The ideological aspects of the strategy of "neoglobalism" are distinctly manifested in the expanding and qualitatively improving information and propaganda offensive of Washington against the non-aligned movement. The United States is betting on a schism within its ranks and on fanning real, or sometimes artificially created, differences of opinion between individual participants in it. "Opposition to our movement," wrote the well-known Indian commentators P. Mathur and K.M. Srivastava, "has become more refined and veiled. Its chief goal is to sow the seeds of doubt among the member countries and to throw provocation problems at them so as to distract the movement from the vital issues of modern times. A clear attempt is being made to emasculate the anti-imperialist essence of non-alignment, in which the West sees the greatest danger to its own interests."

Instructive in this sense is the underground activity of the state and private-monopoly mass media of the United States against one of the recognized leaders of the non-aligned movement—India. Many aspects of its foreign policy, such as devotion to the cause of peace, the struggle for the equality of all states in political and economic relations and intolerance of racism and apartheid, are the incarnation of the basic principles of non-alignment. These principles in no way suit Washington. Its propaganda attacks on the foreign policy of India are combined with ideological diversions that are called upon to destabilize the internal situation in the country, foster the undermining of its unity and integrity, inflame religious and communal discord and separatist tendencies and worsen its relations with neighboring states on nationalistic grounds.

Mistrust, fear and suspicion, the cultivation of which American propaganda assists to the extent of its great powers, skews the perception of reality for whole countries and peoples. As was noted in the Delhi Declaration on the principles for a non-violent world free of nuclear weapons, this mistrust, fear and suspicion "engenders tension and ultimately inflicts harm on the whole international community."

#### Footnotes

1. Materials of the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Moscow, 1986, p 19. 2. Ibid., p 15.

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**Letter Questions Colonialism's Role in LDC  
Backwardness**

18070026d Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in  
Russian No 9, Sep 87 p 32

[Letter to the editors from A.M. Sirotov from the city of  
Rudnyy in Kustanay Oblast: "Is Colonialism Guilty?"]

[Text] I have long subscribed to the journal *Aziya i  
Afrika segodnya*. I like it, and it helps me in my work.  
But I want to talk about something else in my letter.

I often encounter stereotypical phrases in reading the  
journal. You write a lot about the developing coun-  
tries, especially the African ones, and the economic  
and social backwardness, low standard of living,  
illiteracy, hunger, disease and poverty, touch on eth-  
nic problems and point out the causes of tribalism.  
And you blame the colonial past of these countries  
and peoples all the time and for everything. But I do  
not quite agree with that, since it does not correspond  
to reality. Just how can their economic backwardness  
be considered a consequence of the colonial past?  
How?

More than a quarter of a century ago, the majority of  
the African states entered onto the path of indepen-  
dent economic and political development, and to  
consider British or French colonialism to be at fault  
for this is absurd. Everything cannot be reduced to old  
sores. Compare what striking successes were achieved  
by our own country after the revolution over the 25  
years of its development along the path of socialism.  
And what have the countries of Africa achieved over  
25 years? They are as economically backward as they  
were before. What was built, created or done by  
whites has basically remained. And this is in the face  
of their climatic conditions, with their natural wealth!  
I simply think that people there are not accustomed to  
physical labor, and they just try to seize power, as  
testified to by the frequent military coups.

You often condemn South Africa. But is the standard  
of living in South Africa really lower than in any other  
African country? Certainly not. There is practically  
no unemployment there, there is a higher percentage  
of literacy and many diseases have been eliminated.  
Even many foreign workers in South Africa are pro-  
vided with work. This means that the whites in power  
there are leading the country forward, along the path  
of economic and social progress. What do you have to  
say about that? South Africa is close to creating its  
own nuclear weapons. I would like all these questions  
to get convincing answers based on the facts.

And something else. You often write that production  
in this or that sector has grown by this or that many  
times. You know, I have grown tired of this infamous  
and meaningless "times." You just confuse people  
with this "times" so that we do not get the true  
picture.

From the Editors. In publishing this letter, we invite our  
readers, including social-science scholars, to expound on  
the substance of this or that problem and the far from  
undisputed, in our opinion, evaluation of the situation in  
the developing countries, especially in Africa, given by  
A.M. Sidorov.

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**Report on Turkmenis in Afghanistan**

18070026e Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in  
Russian No 9, Sep 87 p 33

[Article by Doctor of Economic Sciences A. Davydov:  
"Turkmenis in Afghanistan"]

[Text] Reader A. Kerabayev of Ashkhabad requests that  
we tell about the Turkmenis of Afghanistan. We are  
meeting that request.

There are no more than 500,000 Turkmenis in  
Afghanistan today, and they comprise about three  
percent of the country's population. They are settled  
in a relatively compact mass in the northwestern  
regions bordering the Soviet Central-Asian republics.  
The most significant portion lives near the border  
with Soviet Turkmenistan, in the provinces of  
Dzhauzzhan and Faryab, as well as the neighboring  
ones—Bagdis, Herat, Samangan, Kunduz and Tak-  
har.

According to some data, the Turkmenis of Afghani-  
stan, at the end of the 19th century and the beginning  
of the 20th, led both a settled and a nomadic way of  
life. Today, however, the overwhelming majority of  
them are engaged in settled farming and pasture  
livestock breeding. They adhere to the traditional  
ethnic separation, numbering themselves among the  
largest Turkmeni tribal groups. About 70 percent of  
them are related to the Esari group. There are also  
Tekkes, Saryks and Salors. Other tribal groups are  
represented by a comparatively insignificant number  
of families. Earlier distinctions among them in every-  
day life, dress and national trades have by this time  
been almost obliterated.

Meanwhile, they all speak Turkmeni, but as a rule  
they, especially the men, know Dari or sometimes  
Pushtu as well. Instances of complete conversion to  
these languages have also been noted. The Turk-  
menis, like the overwhelming majority of the rest of  
the country's population, are Sunni Muslims and  
carry out all of the prescriptions of the religion and  
use Arab script.

The Turkmenis of Afghanistan have made a very large contribution to the development of the famous Afghan rug-weaving. The best rugs, bringing praise to this country in world markets, have an ancient Turkmeni ornamental design—the “gyel”—and are woven by women in Turkmeni families on primitive looms. From an early age, Turkmeni girls, along with the adult women, take part in the manufacture of the rugs. Some of them take up to a year of work, and then they are acquired for a song by the usurious merchants, who supply the weavers with thread and dies.

The Turkmenis have played no less of a role as the founders of the famous Afghan astrakhan-fur breeding, as it is namely the regions they inhabit that are the most favorable for it ecologically. And the skills of breeding the best colorings of astrakhan for export are from the Turkmenis: “sur” (golden red), “shuturi” (beige), “osmani-kabud” (grey-blue) etc.—also carried over to the Afghans and Uzbeks.

The April Revolution of 1978, which proclaimed the equality of all the country's nationalities, opened up for the Turkmenis of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan [DRA], up until then existing in the status of a disparaged national minority, the opportunity for the development of their original culture. For the first time, teaching in the schools and radio programs were introduced in the Turkmeni language, and the publication of the newspaper *Goreshe* (*The Struggle*) was begun.

The body of the Turkmeni peasant laborers welcomed the revolutionary transformations and have almost everywhere repulsed the counter-revolutionary bands. In the large town of Maruchak (the province of Badgis), the first school with instruction in the Turkmeni language was created along with two supply and sales cooperatives and one of the first detachments of volunteers for the fight with the counter-revolutionaries. Six cooperatives that supply the peasants with dies for the rug threads, seeds for cotton crops and gasoline for irrigation machinery have been organized in the villages of the Shortep uyezd (Balkh Province). The revolutionary powers have allotted them two tractors, rendered free food and products assistance and sent doctors. At village assemblies, the peasants have fully approved the program of national reconciliation being carried out by the DRA.

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### Computer Crime Syndicate in Malaysia Broken Up

18070026f Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 9, Sep 87 p 34

[Unattributed item under the rubric “Events... Facts... Figures...”]

[Text] A crime syndicate that had put together millions in capital in the theft of expensive computer parts has been eliminated, declared the chief of police of the Malaysian state of Pinang, Ali Abu Bakar. After the successful operation, which entailed the arrest of six members of the Malaysian mafia, law and order forces in the country obtained a clear picture of the activity of the syndicate.

The bandits stopped trucks shipping computer assemblies and emptied the contents of containers. They then filled them with wallboard that corresponded to the weight and stamped the packages accurately again. The loss was discovered only after long storage of the containers in a warehouse, when no one could say at what stage the spare parts had disappeared. The stolen equipment was rerouted to Taiwan and Hong Kong, where syndicate agents were successful in selling it.

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### Review of Book on TNC Exploitation of LDC's

18070026g Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 9, Sep 87 p 62

[Review “A Means of International Exploitation” by Doctor of Economic Sciences S. Bylinyak of book “TNK i razvivayushchiyesya strany: uglubleniye protevorechiy” [The Multinational Corporations and the Developing Countries: A Deepening of Contradictions] by A.N. Golikov. Moscow, Mezhdunarodnyye Otnosheniya Publishing House, 1987, 166 pp]

[Text] The evolution of world economic relations in our time has transpired to a considerable extent under the influence of the TNCs [transnational corporations], which possess enormous economic might and concentrate the latest scientific and technical achievements for themselves.

Along with the capitalist states, the developing countries are also targets of TNC expansion. What attracts the international monopolies to the periphery? What goals are prosecuted by the official West therein in stimulating the penetration of the TNCs into the developing countries? Why do the young states, already having sufficient negative experience in relations with TNCs and with full regard for their ruinous influence on socio-economic and

political processes, nonetheless continue to turn to the TNCs, offering them substantial advantages in a number of instances? A. Golikov tries to answer all of these difficult and contentious questions, among others.

The book shows the contradictory nature of the economic development of the peripheral countries, which nature compels them to put themselves under the press of the cruelest exploitation in order to make use of the advantages of the international division of labor, attract technology and in that manner accelerate the rate of economic growth.

As is noted in this book, the price being paid by the developing countries for the opportunity of making use of the capital and services of the TNCs is extremely high. At the beginning of the 1980s, the proportion of the liberated countries in the overall volume of American direct private investment was about 25 percent. The share of these countries in the profits obtained abroad, however, has reached roughly 50 percent. In other words, having invested less than a quarter of the capital in the developing countries, the American TNCs have extracted half of the profits received by them from there, which testifies to the high profit standards for peripheral capital investment and, consequently, to the merciless exploitation of the developing countries by the international monopolies.

The steadfast attention of the author toward issues associated with the profits obtained by the TNCs on the periphery and the outflow of resources from the developing countries along the channels of the multinationals, that is, toward everything that characterizes the scale of international exploitation, deserves approval. It is namely these indicators that testify first and foremost to the vested interest of the TNCs in the periphery as a sphere for the application of their capital and services. The decline in the share of the developing countries in foreign entrepreneurial investments that has been observed in the postwar period in no way always leads to a coincident decline in income from investment. And after all, there is no particular need to prove that for the TNCs it is no so much how much they invest that is important as it is how much profit they receive. On these issues, researched by A. Golikov, we will dwell in detail, insofar as an evaluation of the economic significance of the developing countries for the TNCs in a number of Western works is based chiefly on the influx of capital, as a result of which the harmonious and refined system of international exploitation employed by the TNCs is veiled.

At the same time, however, the young states are far from helpless in the fight against TNCs, and a special chapter of this book is devoted to the problem of the opposition of the developing countries to the international monopolies. The author assigns an especial role to the joint actions of the developing countries.

The majority of the conclusions in the book are convincing. Some of them, however, require at least some additional elucidation. In particular, the author writes: "The multinational corporations are the chief subject of the system of economic neocolonialism" (p 24). He further makes concrete his idea in the following manner: "The multinational corporations, having occupied a special place in the system of mutual relations of the imperialist centers and the former colonial periphery, have become the shock force of neocolonialism" (p 33). Neocolonialist relations, however, encompass the whole developing world, while at the same time the capital investments of the TNCs in a whole series of peripheral countries are only symbolic, insofar as the lion's share of the investments goes only to a narrow group of countries. Corresponding data on this score, by the way, is present in this book. The author's attention could also be directed to the fact that entrepreneurial capital in the flow of external resources into the developing countries has never exceeded one fifth, and now its share is considerably less.

In analyzing technological neocolonialism, the basic limitations used by the TNCs in the transfer of technology to the developing countries should have been shown more clearly.

These shortcomings, however, do not diminish the overall high level of the monograph.

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#### **Review of Book on Development of Liberated Asian Countries**

*18070026h Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 9, Sep 87 pp 62-63*

[Review "Strategy of Asian Development" by Doctor of Economic Sciences B. Klyuchnikov of book "Strategiya sotsialno-ekonomicheskogo razvitiya osvobodivshikhsya stran Azii" [Strategy of Socio-Economic Development of the Liberated Countries of Asia]. Editor-in-chief A.I. Dinkevich. Moscow, Oriental Literature Section of Nauka Publishing House, 1986, 432 pp]

[Text] This monograph, written by a collective of scholars under the guidance of A. Dinkevich, is devoted to an analysis of the sum of the factors determining the choice of paths of socio-economic development of the countries of Asia using the example of the countries of this region. They are currently implementing the Third Decade of Development, the basic directions of which were approved by the UN in December of 1980. This work researches the economic philosophy of the strategies on the international, regional and national levels.

The authors have uncovered the theoretical foundations of the strategy and traced the stages of its evolution in non-Marxist economic science. A critical analysis of the principal schools from the point of view of Marxist-Leninist theory is consequently combined in the book with the discovery of those general democratic aspects that are characteristic, for example, of alternative theories or concepts of the economics of the periphery.

The description of the principal socio-economic aspects and conditions for the development of socialist orientation as a real historical alternative to capitalist evolution attracts attention, as does the analysis of social aspects of development strategies for power and ecological problems. A consideration of external factors of development strategy is combined with research on medium-term and long-term programs for eliminating backwardness in the young states.

A single list of the principal problems considered in the monograph testifies to its significance and topical nature. One positive aspect of the book is also the fact that the authors have collected, systematized and analyzed an enormous amount of factual material (as testified to by the many pages of listings of sources and literature).

The postulation and development of a series of new and topical problems should especially be noted. Thus, development strategies are considered in the introduction as an aspect of laws for the rectification of development paths and the variable and inconsistent nature of it. The treatment in Chapter 1 of the question of the correlation of strategic categories in the reproduction mechanism, on the one hand, and a theoretical consideration and interpretation of specific general laws and specific features of socio-economic development in the practical policies of the countries of the Orient, on the other, is deserving of attention.

The authors show that miscalculations in the realization of development strategies in the First (1960s) and partly in the Second (1970s) decades were accompanied by criticism of various development theories, and moreover in the 1970s problems of multi-institutionality, the specific nature of traditional society and particular social and cultural values of Oriental societies became acute. The book formulates a conclusion regarding the crisis of strategy in the majority of the developing states of a capitalist type as one of the concrete forms of expression of the overall crisis of capitalism. The description of the role of the commune in the socialist-oriented countries in the limitations that accompany the process of formal and real subordination of labor to capital should be noted.

Chapter 2 contains a new treatment of the problem of structural shifts and the determination of its significance as factor in growth rates. Problems of extensive and intensive forms of reproduction are analyzed using complex calculations of the principal growth factors.

Although the development of agriculture and the projects that accompany it in recent times has taken on priority significance, the authors at the same time devote the requisite attention to the general laws and specific features of the transition from pre-industrial forms of labor to industrialized ones as a general line of development of productive forces, modified to a considerable extent by the contemporary scientific and technical revolution, the "population explosion" and the specific features of the interaction of traditional and contemporary socio-economic structures.

The latter is reflected in the analytical treatments contained in Chapter 3 of this collective monograph. It shows the close interconnection of ecological and social processes, visibly manifested in particular in the relative dynamic of accumulation funds and personal consumption in the inter-institutional aspect. Chapter 4 is distinguished by an analysis of the complex mechanism of interaction of external growth factors with internal structural changes in the reproductive process. The authors thus have succeeded in tracing their specific functional features and distinctions at various stages of development in the 1970s and 1980s.

In the multi-factored and multi-faceted elucidation of the causes for development difficulties given by the monograph—and this is one of its merits—the necessity of flexible planning is defended and realistic prospects for socio-economic progress in the liberated countries are developed.

Future plans for the development of the Asian countries and forecasts of scientific and technical revolution give grounds to assume that by the year 2000 the situation will not change materially for the better, they will remain net importers of technology and, consequently, a periphery of the world capitalist economy. The significance of technology transfers and other non-stockholder forms in connection with the increasing role of intensive factors will grow in the far-flung and constantly improving system of neocolonialist exploitation.

In light of the aforementioned, the monograph could have gained substantially if it had contained more extensive and concrete proposals regarding the economic collaboration of the developing countries of Asia and the socialist states. Under contemporary conditions, it is essential to go further than general evaluations.

Too little attention was devoted to analyzing the moves of neoconservative forces against increasing the role of the young national states in world economics and politics and to elaborating on the causes for their opposition to the establishment of a new international economic order and Soviet proposals to reinforce international economic security.

Overall, this monograph is a valuable piece of research executed on a high professional level and expanding our conceptions of socio-economic development on the periphery of the world capitalist economy—the liberated countries of Asia.

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**Review of U.K. Book on Third World Security**  
*18070026i Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 9, Sep 87 p 64*

[Review "Regional Security in Asia: A View 'From Within'" by G. Dymov of book "Regional Security in the Third World. Case Studies from South-East Asia and the Middle East." Edited by M. Ayoob. London, Croom Helm Publishing House, 1986, 284 pp]

[Text] The terrible realities of the nuclear space age, which have brought about a qualitatively new climate in the world and where the fate of human civilization and very life on earth has been put at risk, have imparted an especial acuity and topicality to questions of the mutual dependence and indivisibility of international security. It is largely defined, as is well known, by the political climate that is taking shape at the regional and sub-regional levels and within the bounds of individual geographical regions. Heightened interest in the problems of this book, which is an anthology of papers read by academic associates of the research centers of a number of Southeast Asian countries, as well as Egypt, at a seminar that took place in Singapore is understandable.

The participants in the seminar faced an exceedingly difficult task extremely extensive in scope—to research the problem of maintaining regional security in the context of both Southeast Asia and the Near East and in international relations with the whole Third World, to show it against a background of world politics, to develop ways and means of resolving disputed issues and local conflicts and to evaluate the role and place of international regional organizations in ensuring a peaceful life for the peoples of Asia. And although the authors of the papers were unable to realize their plans to a complete extent, and while some of their theoretical and practical conclusions are insufficiently well reasoned, the very fact of the appearance of this publication and the opportunity for becoming acquainted with the points of view of Asian scholars on the problem of security in this part of the world undoubtedly merits serious attention.

According to the assertion of the book's editor, an associate of the international relations department of the Australian National University in Canberra, M. Ayoob, the concept of regional security has recently become

more popular in the academic circles of the developing states. The content of the papers, however, gives no grounds to say that any orderly, not to mention generally recognized, theory exists on that score. An attempt is even made to consider regional security as "an antidote to intra- and inter-state conflicts, since such conflicts in the Third World are quite often intertwined" (p 20).

The approach of the participants in the seminar to the problem of security and the ways and methods they propose for resolving it are of a primarily "local" nature and do not, as a rule, go beyond the bounds of bilateral or regional acts. Such major and largely universal processes and factors as the non-aligned movement and the aspiration of political and public circles in the Asian countries, which is gathering force, to create a peace zone, a region free of nuclear weapons, remained beyond the field of view.

Many of the papers clearly display a tendency to emphasize the specific nature of internal and external conditions in the Asian countries. M. Ayoob, for example, cites the idea that the problem of Asian security differs materially from the European one, which unsystematically uses the experience of Europe there. The impression is created as a result that the chief threat to regional security proceeds not from imperialist intervention and expansion, but rather from the unresolved nature of internal political, economic and social problems, international contradictions and territorial and other disputes.

The book's authors devote much attention to a consideration of the political foundations and various aspects of the activity of the Council of Collaboration of the Arab States of the Persian Gulf, the League of Arab Nations and especially the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), which is made out to be "the most positive force acting for the good of peace and security in Southeast Asia" (p 187).

The important role of joint effective practical steps within the framework of broad and highly regarded intergovernmental organizations that further the task of averting conflicts, prevent the appearance of armed clashes and crises and also further their settlement and the reinforcement of a climate of trust is obvious. But it is hardly farsighted to place a major stake on these organizations on the plane of maintaining regional security, abstracting from the situation in the rest of the world, without taking part in the search for collective ways of reviving the situation in the Asian-Pacific region, to which we are summoned by the clear and concrete proposals of the USSR.

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**Emphasis on GOSR Influence, Not Imitation, for  
Third World**

*18070028a Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in  
Russian No 11, Nov 87 pp 5-8*

[Article by Doctor of Historical Sciences A. Kiva: "Great  
October and the National-Liberation Movement"]

[Text] It is not a simple matter to discuss the influence of  
the Great October Socialist Revolution on the course of  
world events overall and on the development of the  
national-liberation movement in particular. On the one  
hand, much has long been well known. On the other  
hand, the significance of this phenomenon can probably



never be fully evaluated, since its effect on the world is continuing and this effect is not only overt, but indirect as well, not only apparent, but latent, making itself felt over many decades.

It seems that socialist revolution in some major country in the world, if not in a number of countries overall, had to occur in one way or another in the 20th century. History took shape in such a way that it occurred in Russia. In this sense, the world social process seems to me to be simply inconceivable without the Great October Socialist Revolution, in the same way, by the way, as the great French bourgeois-democratic revolution, which was consummated in a number of other bourgeois revolutions and had worldwide historical significance. They were both marked by the appearance of new eras in the history of mankind: one bourgeois and the other socialist. And both of them—each, naturally, in its own way—served as a catalyst for profound transformations in the world, and moreover most often not directly, but rather indirectly, by virtue of example, a mediating influence on the social process.

In no way diminishing the influence of the great French revolution on the course of history, however, I would especially emphasize that Great October was the first social revolution in the world that opened up the possibility of putting an end to the exploitation of man by man, laid the foundations for fundamentally new relations in the sphere of ownership of the means of production and posed the question of the elimination of all types of aggression. The very first legislative acts of the young Soviet republic—the Decree on Peace, the Decree on Land, the Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia and the Declaration of the Rights of Workers and Exploited People—had worldwide historical significance.

How did the Great October Socialist Revolution influence socialist revolution in the countries of the Orient?

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Great October gave rise to a qualitatively new international situation. First and foremost, world imperialism lost an important link in such a major power as Russia (although it was far from being the most economically developed country in the world, it traditionally had great political weight in Europe and Asia and had considerable military might at its disposal). This laid the foundation for a gradual weakening of the whole system of imperialism.

The socialist revolution in Russia, its ideas and the political practice of the country of the soviets had an enormous influence on the states of Asia and Africa and facilitated the ascent of the national-liberation movement in the Afro-Asian world. It is enough to refer to the

example of the strengthening of the struggle for national and social liberation in a number of countries contiguous with Russia—China, Mongolia, Turkey, Afghanistan, Iran and India.

The colonial and semi-colonial peoples found a kind of support base for their struggles for freedom and independence in the person of young Soviet Russia. Instances of material aid by our country to Mongolia, Turkey and Afghanistan are well known. Of perhaps no less significance to the peoples of the dependent countries, however, was moral, political and diplomatic support on the part of the USSR.

It has been written in Oriental-studies literature more than once that V.I. Lenin intently followed the development of the situation in the zone of the national-liberation movement and came forward with an initiative to take specific steps for the victorious outcome of the anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples of Afghanistan, Turkey and a number of other countries. Also well known is the fact that the most important direction of foreign-policy activity of the Soviet state was considered by its founder to be unmasking the colonial policies of the imperialist countries and supporting peoples fighting for national liberation, including in international forums. I will cite but one example. The program of actions approved by V.I. Lenin for the Soviet delegation to the Genoa Conference (1922) headed by G.V. Chicherin emphasized that "The novelty of our international scheme should consist of the fact that **other colonial peoples take part on an equal footing** with the European peoples in the conferences and commissions and have the right **not to permit interference** in their internal life."<sup>1</sup>

One specific feature of the new international situation was the fact that even while V.I. Lenin was still alive, a union between real socialism, represented at that time by just one country, and the international revolutionary workers' and national-liberation movements had already begun to take shape. V.I. Lenin's policy of rendering aid to struggling peoples and solidifying friendship and solidarity with them ("We will make every effort to converge and merge with the Mongols, Persians, Indians and Egyptians..."<sup>2</sup>) was continued by the Comintern, although it committed serious errors on the national and colonial question.

The Great October Socialist Revolution, clearing the way for radical changes not only in the sphere of social relations in Russia, but national relations as well, was an example of the fact that one could battle successfully against colonialism, that it could be beaten. The revolution put an end to the oppression of the peoples on the periphery of the former tsarist Russia, resolved the issue of the right of nations to self-determination and the like. But this had become possible not in the last because the national minorities of Russia took active part in the revolutionary struggle and aided the proletariat of the central regions in putting an end to tsarism and its colonial policies.

The new social order being created in the young country of October had an enormous influence on the peoples of the colonies and semi-colonies, and its influence was moreover on many levels. Of great interest to the leftist forces of the Afro-Asian countries, familiar with the principles of Marxism, was how the idea of building a society without the exploitation of man by man was put into practice. Wider circles of society, including the national-bourgeois forces that led the liberation struggle overall in a whole series of countries, were interested in the practical steps of Soviet Russia with the goal of eliminating economic and cultural backwardness, especially ways and means of developing industry, fighting illiteracy, resolving the national issue and the like. The greatest interest was naturally evoked in those regions of the USSR that were close to these or those countries in the colonial world in their level of development.

The following cannot be omitted in discussing the influence of Great October on the national-liberation movement. At the price of an enormous intensifying of forces and the dogged labor of the Soviet people along with unbelievable deprivations in the USSR, industrialization was accomplished in the shortest possible historical time frame and an enormous leap forward was made in the realm of science and technology, and a modern military industry and powerful armed forces were created on this basis. The Soviet Union, thanks to this, was able to withstand the most severe struggle against German fascism, make a decisive contribution to its defeat and play an important role in the the victory over Japanese militarism. The defeat of German fascism and Japanese militarism in World War II weakened imperialism. The formation of the world socialist system, on the one hand, further undermined the positions of imperialism and, on the other, sharply strengthened true socialism. Exceptionally favorable external conditions were thus created for the rapid ascent of the national-liberation struggle and the breakdown of the colonial system of imperialism, while the liberated countries objectively obtained the opportunity of developing along a path of social progress other than colonialism. I have in mind first and foremost non-capitalist development or socialist orientation. A number of countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, as is well known, have entered onto this path.

I think there is no need to dwell in detail in the pages of our journal on the role of this or that aid or support rendered by the USSR to the countries in the zone of the national-liberation movement during the decisive battles of their peoples for political sovereignty. Soviet aid was of a most varied nature—political and diplomatic, economic, military and the like. Our country's support for the peoples of Algeria, Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Egypt, Syria and many other countries, either fighting for their independence or defending it in the face of foreign aggression, is well known to the whole world. Also well known is the fact that the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are determinedly supporting the struggle of the young states against imperialism and

neocolonialism. It is namely imperialism and neocolonialism that block the path of reinforcing the national independence of the liberated countries and the realization of their inalienable right to choose this or that model for social progress and the achievement of economic independence and are striving to hinder these countries from playing their fitting role in the system of international economic and political relations.

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V.I. Lenin, while firmly defending the general principles and laws of class struggle and emphasizing the international significance of Great October (in the sense of the repetition of the important features of the Russian Revolution in other socialist revolutions), at the same time demanded a comprehensive regard for the specific development features of each country and each revolution. He categorically condemned efforts to copy mechanically the specific prototypes of revolutionary actions and unthinkingly approve everything that had been done earlier by these or those detachments of the revolutionaries. He furthermore aided foreign communists in understanding that which was specific and unique in the revolutionary movement of Russia. "Research, study, seek out, derive and encompass that which is specifically and particularly national in the **specific** approaches of each country to the solution of the **unique** internationalist task..."<sup>3</sup> is what the leader of the world proletariat taught. V.I. Lenin persistently warned the revolutionaries against overestimating their strength and underestimating the strength of the adversary and against efforts to complete a revolution in the absence of a revolutionary situation.

Unfortunately, these and much other most valuable advice of the leader of the world proletariat was assimilated with difficulty by an inconsequential portion of the revolutionaries of many countries.

It is well known that the socialist revolution in Russia, for a whole series of reasons that were pointed out by V.I. Lenin, was accomplished comparatively easily. But this very relative ease of the socialist coup d'etat (I repeat, relative, since the civil war that followed the revolution caused enormous casualties and destruction) was exaggerated and absolutized by many revolutionaries. It seemed to them that there were many countries in the world, including colonies and semi-colonies, that were ripe for socialist revolution, and one had only to begin an uprising and bring the broad popular masses into it. This gave rise to leftist-extremist sentiments among the ranks of the revolutionaries and attempts to "export revolution," which the classic authors of scientific communism were decisively against.

V.I. Lenin was profoundly distressed that the armed confrontation between the forces of revolution and counter-revolution acquired—although through no fault of the Bolsheviks—such a broad-scale and bitter nature, and he stressed more than once that in the majority of

the civilized countries, such a bloody confrontation could be avoided. The very fact of the widely employed revolutionary violence in the process of the emergence of the Soviet state, as a consequence of a series of circumstances (including some engendered by exclusively specific national conditions), was perceived by many revolutionaries as a general law of any profound social revolution. Efforts made thereby to achieve the same revolutionary goals by means of negotiations, agreements or compromises rather than direct armed clashes with the class enemy were often regarded as reformism.

An example of the development of relations among the various political forces of our country, especially between the Bolsheviks, on the one hand, and the Mensheviks and SRs, on the other, was unjustly considered to be the inevitable result of the interaction of Marxists and non-proletarian revolutionaries. This approach, when shifted to the countries in the zone of the national-liberation movement, can cause nothing but harm. The behavior of various socio-political forces in the course of the Russian Revolution is frequently—in violation of the principles of historical method—is frequently projected to completely different socio-economic and specific national conditions, even as far as regards another type of revolution.

Examples of this type could be continued. As we have already become convinced, however, they testify just to a too-shallow interpretation of the general and specific features of our revolution, a non-critical approach to the political practices of the first workers' and peasants' state in the world and the Eurocentrist approach to the analysis of processes and phenomena in the countries of the Orient that has held sway for a long time in the world revolutionary movement.

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In discussing the attainments of our revolution, we usually accent the social aspect of Great October, and this is just, since we would have been unable to build socialism without radical changes in that sphere. But are we always correct in our treatments of the concepts of "social" and "social progress," or do we narrow them somewhat?

Over quite a long period of time, we have associated the words "social progress" in relation to the liberated countries almost exclusively with their socialist or non-capitalist development. This is incorrect, after all, from both an academic and any other point of view, since it contradicts the law of formation-stage development discovered by K. Marx. It could also be recalled that V.I. Lenin always posed the question of social progress depending on the socio-economic structures holding sway in society. Socialism is a higher degree of social progress compared to colonialism, which in turn is in the same position with respect to societies where feudal or tribal relations predominate. Otherwise we slide down

into a dogmatic position: if we do not consider colonialism progressive on a social plane for such societies, then how do we explain the fact that the majority of the Afro-Asian countries have entered a capitalist path of development, and how will the leftist forces of those countries find a common language with the masses, who frequently support the political policies of the national governments?

One specific feature of the contemporary stage of development of the national-liberation movement is precisely the fact that as soon as the main body of the liberated countries proceeds along the capitalist path, opportunities should be found within the framework of colonialism to fight for social progress in the interests of the workers, the accomplishment of an independent foreign policy by these countries and for joint positions with the socialist states against imperialism and neocolonialism and for the preservation of peace and the saving of world civilization. By the way, the prospects for the collaboration of the USSR and the other socialist states with the states on the capitalist development path in various realms have not only not narrowed in recent years, but have on the contrary grown considerably. Contradictions with imperialism remain, and are sometimes growing worse, for these countries. In the international arena they are striving, despite the policies of imperialism, to play a more visible role, and they are supporting world socialism therein. A number of most acute political problems exists, and conflict situations in particular, including some touching directly on the interests of the Soviet Union, that cannot be resolved in practice without the participation of the young capitalist-oriented states.

As for the possibilities for economic collaboration, striking changes have occurred here over the last two decades. There is a whole group of young states that has reached the leading edge in the production of many types of modern equipment and technology, and the conventional depiction of our country as an exporter of progressive equipment and technology to the developing countries and an importer of raw materials and other goods of traditional export from them does not fully correspond to reality today.

This creates a need to look differently at the prospects for the economic, scientific and technical collaboration of the USSR with the liberated countries and requires the most rapid possible development of new models for it. Notwithstanding the enormous experience that has been accumulated in such collaboration and notwithstanding the fact that it has had a positive effect on the socio-economic development of the liberated countries, the former model became outmoded during the years of stagnation in Soviet society and came into contradiction with the new tasks. Taking this circumstance into account, one promising direction for collaboration by the USSR with the most developed liberated countries could be, in my opinion, production cooperation, the joint development of prototypes of new types of equipment and technology, the creation of joint enterprises etc.

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With Great October we associate not only the solution of most profound social problems, but also the advancement of a whole series of general humanitarian tasks by the first country of socialism in the world.

The statements of the creator of the Soviet state on the dangers of future wars that could inflict colossal harm on world civilization and his ideas on the need for peaceful co-existence with states with other social systems are well known. With all of his selfless devotion to the cause of the struggle for liberation of the workers from exploitation by capital, V.I. Lenin never rejected a realistic regard for the interests of the other side and repeatedly declared the readiness of the workers' and peasants' government to act in concert with this same capital for the sake of solving problems common to mankind, and first and foremost the preservation of life on earth and the arrangement of mutually advantageous collaboration among all states. He decisively condemned the imperialists therein, however, for their antihumanitarianism in relation to enslaved peoples. The political activity of V.I. Lenin gives us shining examples of an ability to make concessions and compromises for the sake of achieving goals with the least sacrifices and finding solutions to the most urgent problems in the interests of the broad masses.

This Leninist practice is topical as never before for the zone of the national-liberation movement. In fact, what are the so-called local wars and regional conflicts, the ethnic, nationalistic and sectarian discord, costing peoples of the Third World? Once-flourishing Lebanon is absolutely torn apart, millions of people have been killed and crippled in the course of the Iran-Iraq war and colossal damage has been wrought to their economies, and ethnic, national, religious and communal strife are tearing apart Sri Lanka, India and many other liberated countries. And I have to say: the less bitterness and intolerance there are, the more there exist patience and inclination to concession, compromise and consensus. The more so under conditions of the threat of nuclear war, when the folly of mankind can even leave no trace of itself.

We have every reason to discuss the influence of the Great October Socialist Revolution on the national-liberation movement. This is true. But it is also true that the ideas of October have already materialized to a considerable extent in that movement. It is also the appearance of new socialist states in the course of the national-liberation struggle. It is also the appearance of socialist-oriented countries on the three continents of the developing world. It is also the union of all of the revolutionary forces of modern times—actual socialism, the revolutionary workers' movement of the socialist countries and the forces of national and social liberation of the former colonial world—born at the initiative of V.I. Lenin.

The significance of that union today is no less than it was in the years of struggle of the former colonies and semi-colonies for their freedom and independence. After all, the plundering of the liberated countries is continuing on an unprecedented scale. CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev, giving the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress, pointed out the great danger of such policies of imperialism for the fate of peace, warning that bags full of money can turn into barrels of gunpowder. The documents of the 27th CPSU Congress stress that "the congress confirms the unwavering solidarity of the CPSU with the forces of national and social liberation."

The Soviet Union—the child of October—was and remains on the side of the just struggle of peoples against all forms of oppression.

#### Footnotes

1. V.I. Lenin. Complete Collected Works, Vol. 45, p 36.
2. Ibid., Vol. 30, p 120.
3. Ibid., Vol. 41, p 77.

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#### USSR's Economic Relations with Developing States Praised

18070028b Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 11, Nov 87 pp 12-14

[Article by Doctor of Economic Sciences A. Kodachenko: "On the Basis of Equality"]

[Text] The birth of the first socialist state in the world marked a major milestone in both the political and the economic liberation of colonial and dependent countries. Having repudiated the barbaric policy of "bourgeois civilization constructed for the welfare of the exploiters in a few select nations on the enslavement of hundreds of millions of the laboring population in Asia and the colonies overall and the small countries,"<sup>1</sup> from the first days of its existence it has consistently incarnated a policy of internationalist solidarity with the enslaved peoples of the Orient. The country of the soviets annulled all of the unequal treaties, conventions and agreements concluded with other states by the tsarist powers and rejected all economic privileges and transferred to the ownership of neighboring Oriental countries all of the concessions, lands and properties that belonged to the government and the subjects of tsarist Russia.

The young republic of the soviets, despite the exceptionally severe conditions it was in, extended a hand of non-mercenary aid to peoples fighting for freedom. It was able to render them serious political and economic support and, when required—as was the case, for example, in China, Mongolia and Turkey—military support as well in the fight against the colonizers.

It was namely Afghanistan, China, Turkey and Iran that were among the countries that Soviet Russia concluded the first equal-terms agreements in its history, laying the foundation for the affirmation of a new type of relations among states in the international arena. Our country in that manner opposed imperialism with qualitatively distinctive and historically unprecedented standards of international relations engendered by the internationalist nature of its foreign policies and based on the Leninist principle of the peaceful co-existence of states with differing socio-economic orders and close union with the national-liberation movement.

A new stage in the development and reinforcement of this union ensued after World War II. The victory of the Soviet people over German fascism and Japanese militarism and the formation of the world socialist community created favorable international conditions for the further ascent of the national-liberation movement, under the blows of which the entire colonial system began to disintegrate. Imperialism has permanently lost its limitless sway in the sphere of world economic relations as well, having been deprived of the monopolies it had in the realm of economic, scientific and technical aid. The countries of socialism, having reinforced their economic and military potential, have shifted over to the rendering of material, as well as political and moral, support to the young independent states.

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V.I. Lenin pointed out repeatedly that the chief influence on the course of world historical progress for the countries of victorious socialism would prove to be their economic policies and successes in economic development. Life has confirmed this. In reality, as a result of growth in the might of the socialist community and the weakening of capitalism, the correlation of class forces in the international arena has been radically altered and prospects for liberation from the economic, as well as the political, sway of imperialism have opened up before the peoples of the former colonial and dependent countries.

The purposeful and constructive influence of socialism on the process of restructuring international economic relations is embodied in particular in the establishment of mutually advantageous and broad-scale economic ties between the socialist community and the liberated countries on the basis of respect for national independence and the sovereign equality of the parties. Their deep common vested interest in the preservation of peace, the reinforcement of international security and the freeing

up of resources for the purposes of development via disarmament are all opening up possibilities for the further arrangement of widespread collaboration between the world of socialism and the developing countries and makes it possible to speak of a special system of mutual relations taking shape between them.

The program course of the socialist community was precisely defined in the declaration of the economic summit conference of the CEMA countries that was held in 1984. Its participants came out in favor of the implementation of effective measures aimed at eliminating any exploitation in international economic relations, ensuring unimpeded scientific and technical collaboration, removing discrimination, artificial obstacles and unequal exchange in trade relations and establishing a just and economically grounded correlation of prices for raw materials, foodstuffs and industrial items. For this purpose, the socialist community is being called upon to strengthen the monitoring of the activity of multinational corporations, straighten out currency and finance relations and normalize conditions for the granting and payment of credit.

The realization of the all-encompassing system of international security advanced by the 27th CPSU Congress and further developed and affirmed in subsequent party and state documents can render great assistance to the cause of national liberation under contemporary conditions. One of the paramount goals in it is the task of ensuring international economic security, equal for all countries of the world.

“The CPSU supports the just struggle of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America against imperialism and the yoke of the multinational corporations,” emphasizes the CPSU program, “along with the affirmation of their sovereign right to dispose of their own natural resources, the restructuring of international relations on an equal and democratic basis, the creation of a new international economic order and the elimination of the debt cabal foisted by the imperialists.”

At the initiative of the socialist states that support the developing countries, a special UN conference on the problem of the interconnection of disarmament and development was held in New York in August and September of this year. In his appeal to the conference participants, M.S. Gorbachev, expressing the conviction that it could make an appreciable and skilled contribution to the internationalization of efforts to turn disarmament into a factor of development, proposed the creation of an international fund called “Disarmament for Development” within the framework of the UN in which the USSR is prepared to take part.

The socialist and developing countries are together developing ways and means of realizing the concepts of international economic security at the 42nd UN General Assembly currently underway.

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The growing economic collaboration with the Soviet union and the other socialist countries has become an important factor of national renaissance and economic progress for the developing world. Broad opportunities for deepening this collaboration are being revealed by the successful implementation of the programs of restructuring the national economies that are being implemented by the states of the socialist community and their strengthening integration within the framework of CEMA.

The contribution of the USSR to economic, scientific and technical collaboration is considerable. About 3,250 facilities, of which 1,950 have already been completed and put into service, have been constructed in 70 liberated states with Soviet assistance. It is instructive that in the middle of the 1980s, 20-25 percent of all exports from these states falls to the share of products of enterprises built there with our assistance.

A typical feature of Soviet aid is the fact that it is called upon to assist the creation of an efficient national-economic base and is directed toward key sectors of the economy that lay solid foundations for economic independence. About 90 percent of the funding goes for the development of the production sphere, including over half for the construction of enterprises in heavy industry.

New sectors of national industry have been or are being created, enterprises engaged in the processing of agricultural raw materials are being modernized and expanded, the extraction of minerals is being expanded along with fertilizer production etc. in a number of the liberated countries thanks to the economic and technical assistance of the USSR. Rendering assistance in building this or that facility, Soviet organizations try to include national firms and companies in the construction to the maximum extent possible and strive to transfer their own productive experience to them without concealing technological and organizational "secrets."

USSR assistance in creating and strengthening the state sector of their economies also has enormous significance for the liberated countries. This is explained by the fact that in view of the weakness of the national economy in these countries, there is frequently not enough capital or experience in leading a contemporary large economy. Under these conditions, the development of the state sector is the correct way of mobilizing internal resources and accumulating the corresponding skills in building and managing the economy and monitoring the economy and its development in the needed directions.

Over a hundred liberated countries maintain mutually beneficial trade with the Soviet Union, the volume of which increased from 6.3 to 18.5 billion rubles from 1974 through 1984, that is, almost tripled.

The Soviet Union also renders much aid in the training of national personnel for the young states. Some 49 institutions of higher learning and technical institutes along with over 260 training centers and professional training academies were built with its assistance, and 1.6 million skilled specialists have been trained. Over 13,000 graduates of the University of the Friendship of Peoples imeni Patrice Lumumba are working in 110 countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America today. UN General Secretary Perez de Cuellar, speaking at a session of the Intergovernmental Commission on Science and Technology in May of 1985 at UN headquarters in New York, made note of the valuable contribution of the Soviet Union to the cause of creating and expanding the scientific and technical base of the developing countries.

The development of foreign economic ties with the socialist states is making it possible for the liberated countries to make use of the dynamically unfolding socialist international division of labor in their own interests. This orientation is giving them a considerable economy of material resources and permits them to raise the efficiency of foreign economic ties.

The planned nature of the economies of the socialist states assumes the conclusion of an ever greater number of long-term and large-scale agreements, which under modern conditions are the best form for linking the development plans for their national economies with the economic-development programs of the young states.

As early as the 4th session of UNCTAD in May of 1976, the Soviet Union advanced a specific and far-reaching program of actions for setting up economic collaboration. In developing this, it has in recent years already concluded a series of intergovernmental agreements which contain articles that envisage an expansion of foreign economic ties with the young states. Such agreements have been concluded in particular with Angola, Ethiopia, Mozambique, Afghanistan, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Syria and the People's Republic of the Congo. The Soviet Union today implements foreign economic ties on the basis of agreements with 86 developing countries today.

At the same time, the development of economic contacts is a prolonged and complex process that is associated with the adaptation of economic structures. The discussion especially concerns a certain mutual supplementation of economies and the creation of a new and stable sphere for the international division of labor that opposes the international system of imperialist domination and exploitation within the framework of the world capitalist economy in its tasks, principles and mechanism of operation.

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In one of the first program documents of Great October—the appeal "To All Muslim Workers of Russia and the Orient"—the country of the soviets solemnly

declared its intention to construct its relations with the oppressed peoples on the basis of genuine equality and expressed a readiness to render them fraternal aid in the fight for national and social liberation. Our Motherland, by its tireless activity, is incarnating these noble ideals and demonstrating verity to the principles of internationalism.

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### Seminar Marks 40th Anniversary of Nonaligned Movement

18070028c Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 11, Nov 87 p 21

[Article by Doctor of Economic Sciences A. Sergiyev under the rubric "The Motto—Solidarity": "Non-Alignment and International Peace"]

[Text] A seminar on the theme of "Non-Alignment and International Peace" was held in Delhi at the initiative of the Indian Institute for the Study of the Problems of Non-Alignment coincident with the 40th anniversary of the independence of India. It was an academic forum quite representative in composition and large in scope. About 400 Indian and foreign delegates took part in its work: prominent state and public figures, famous specialists on problems of world politics and economics and representatives of a number of international organizations—UNESCO, UNCTAD, Organization for Solidarity with the Peoples of Asia and Africa, the League of Arab Nations and others. A delegation from the Soviet Committee for Solidarity with the Countries of Asia and Africa took part in the seminar.

Chief among the discussions that unfolded at the seminar was the debate on problems of averting global nuclear catastrophe, halting the arms race, reinforcing security in the Asian-Pacific region (APR) and raising the activeness and effectiveness of the non-aligned movement in the fight to ensure peace and the development of international collaboration.

The overall tone and thrust of the work of the seminar was set by the presentation of R. Gandhi, in which the Indian prime minister set forth the positions of his country on a wide range of issues in world politics and described the most important tasks of the non-aligned movement, emphasizing in particular the necessity of curbing the nuclear arms race. The head of the Indian state had a high regard for the proposal advanced by M.S. Gorbachev in an interview with the Indonesian newspaper *Merdeka* on the full elimination of medium-range and operational-tactical missiles in this connection.

It should be noted that the discussion of the Vladivostok program and other constructive Soviet initiatives on problems of ensuring lasting peace and security in the APR essentially the pivotal thrust of the discussion in Delhi. Almost all papers expressed approval and support for the peace-loving policy of the Soviet Union in the realm of nuclear disarmament and the creation of an atmosphere of mutual trust and fruitful collaboration in this part of the world.

"A deep impression was made on the non-aligned countries by the Soviet leader's proposal to organize a meeting of a Helsinki type between that country and the United States," said Delhi University professor S.M.L. Mathur. "There is no doubt that such a meeting would open up new opportunities for all countries to develop a reliable approach to the gradual resolution by stages of the complex problems of Asia and the Pacific basin."

Substantive and interesting papers by Indian scholars—Delhi University professors K.R. Mishra, S.N. Talwar and R.K. Malhotri and B.R. Patil, director of the Family Planning Fund, as well as delegates from other non-aligned countries—were devoted to issues of reinforcing peace and international security, opposing the aggressive activity of imperialism, developing international collaboration in the APR and the whole world and establishing a new international economic order.

Various proposals were advanced at the seminar that were aimed at reinforcing peace in the APR—for example, the convocation of a conference under the aegis of the UN to discuss all aspects of the situation in the region closely connected with the fight to save humanity from nuclear catastrophe, the creation of a regional Asian UN center on issues of peace and disarmament, the declaration of the Pacific Ocean as a nuclear-free zone and the creation of an "international mechanism" within the framework of the non-aligned movement to counteract interventions in the relations of the non-aligned countries.

The papers and presentations of the seminar participants had a sharp anti-imperialist thrust. The positions of the Washington administration on issues of nuclear disarmament and the creation of peace zones in various regions of the planet were subjected to sharp criticism, as was American intervention in the internal affairs of Asian states. The solid papers of Professors I.N. Trehan, H. Gupta and Doctors J.P. Srivastava, A.S. Narang, M. Gotam, A.R. Sharma, B.M. Johari and others contained much revealing factual material.

The presentations of seminar participants from the representatives of Afghanistan, East Germany, North Korea, Cuba, Mongolia, Nicaragua and Hungary were met with interest and understanding. They expounded in detail on the positions of their countries on issues of preserving peace and reinforcing international security,



disarmament and the political settlement of conflicts in Asian and other parts of the globe, first and foremost around Afghanistan and Kampuchea.

The seminar participants adopted a Concluding Declaration which summarized their opinions on the most important problems of world politics and defined the topical tasks of the struggle for peace and the reinforcement of security in the APR. It declared full support for the initiative of the "Group of Six" regarding curbing the nuclear arms race and expressed the hope that the United States would reject its "Star Wars" program and reach agreement with the USSR to ban the militarization of space. The delegates at the forum warmly welcomed the position of the Soviet Union on the problem of nuclear disarmament and approved its proposal for a "global double zero." The Delhi Declaration had a high regard for the principles of a non-violent world free of nuclear weapons that was signed by Soviet and Indian leaders in November of last year.

The criminal acts of the racist regime in South Africa were decisively condemned. The seminar participants came out in favor of applying all-encompassing and compulsory political and economic sanctions toward Pretoria and demanded the most rapid possible granting of independence to Namibia. They expressed approval for the Declaration and Plan of Action adopted by the conferences of non-aligned countries at the ministerial level in Pyongyang.

The whole course of the work of the Delhi seminar and its results testify visibly to the fact that the ideas of peace, security and mutually beneficial collaboration in the APR, which the Soviet Union has actively and consistently championed, are striking a more and more positive chord and are finding growing support in state and public circles and among the scholars of countries in the region. These ideas are being profoundly studied for the purpose of their practical realization. The understanding of the commonality of interests and goals of the Asian peoples in the fight to ensure peace and security is growing.

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### **Lumumba University Preparing Journalists for Third World**

*18070028d Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 11, Nov 87 p 25*

[Article by Candidate of Historical Sciences I. Volkova: "A New Detachment of Journalists"]

[Text] The history and philology department of the University of the Friendship of Peoples imeni P. Lumumba (UFP) held its second graduation of specialists in the realm of international journalism.

It is well known what harm the ideological expansion of the West inflicts on the peoples of the developing states and what enormous efforts must be expended by them in the struggle for information independence. And now several dozen young journalists—35 last year and 56 this year—have gone back to their homelands to make their contribution to the development of the mass media in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America and to the struggle of the liberated peoples for a new information and communications order. A material hindrance in this struggle is namely the lack of journalistic personnel, and the Soviet Union has begun to render appreciable aid to the developing countries in solving this important problem.

The five-year course of study of the UFP students included disciplines associated with the theory, history and practice of journalism, the specific nature of various types of mass media and non-staff work in the Soviet press. A number of the future journalists can point with pride to up to a hundred pieces of published material. This practical activity is excellently reflected in the extensive exhibit prepared in the department for the 70th anniversary of Great October, where excerpts from Soviet newspapers and magazines and from the press of their native countries are on display. The students' material touches on a wide range of problems connected with international events and the course of restructuring in the Soviet Union and relate the life of foreign students in the USSR and their impressions of trips across the country as well as work with the International Student Construction Detachment.

Staff members of institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences—Oriental Studies, Africa, Latin America, History of the USSR, General History—where the students did undergraduate work gave much assistance to the department in training the specialists in the sphere of international journalism. The reinforcement of collaboration between UFP and the academic institutes will doubtless permit future journalists to be enriched with theoretical academic knowledge and the Soviet scholars to become acquainted with the specific nature of the emergence of the mass media in the developing countries.

The foundations of a fine tradition have been laid. Some 52 first-year students that will reinforce the ranks of journalists in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America have started classes.

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### Unity, Disparity of S. African Anti-Apartheid Groups Viewed

18070028e Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 11, Nov 87 pp 26-28

[Article by V. Tetekin under the rubric "Against Apartheid and Racism": "South Africa—The Realities of Confrontation"]

[Text] By the middle of the 1980s, the struggle against apartheid in South Africa had reached a qualitatively new level typified by considerable growth in the activeness and organization of the masses. The liberation movement of the oppressed majority is led by its acknowledged vanguard, the African National Congress (ANC), operating in a military alliance with the South African Communist Party (SACP) and the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU). Over the last two or three years, powerful organizations of legal opposition have also appeared—the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). Sharing the ultimate aims of the ANC and collaborating closely with it, they at the same time are undoubtedly playing an independent role, although the regime is expending much effort and funding to "prove" that the discussion concerns just structural appendages of the ANC.

Extremist circles in the white community still hope to preserve the system of apartheid in inviolability.<sup>1</sup> The ruling group of the Nationalist Party, headed by President P. Botha, however, feels that an explosion can be averted only by reform—the rejection of the most odious and obvious manifestations of racial discrimination. This point of view is supported overall by leading representatives of "big business," troubled both by the specter of revolution and by the fact that apartheid has become a drag on the country's economic development. The number of progressively or liberally inclined whites that understand the doomed nature of the regime and are coming forward in favor of its liquidation is increasing.

In 1984-85 and the first half of 1986, the strategic initiative was knocked out of the party's hands. "Conventional" methods of suppression lost their effectiveness. The South African authorities resorted to extreme methods—they instituted a state of emergency. This did not, however, signify a fundamental change in the situation: such a state has in fact existed in the country since 1960; crude violence was and remains the chief tool of the regime. But whereas before the racist upper echelons had found it necessary to limit the raging of the police and army to a certain extent so as not to embarrass their patrons in the West too much and to lighten internal reformist maneuverings, today they have discarded all "decorum" and have given much greater freedom of action to the repressive apparatus.

The impression could take shape that these steps have achieved their purpose—that they have weakened the white heat of popular demonstrations. In point of fact,

only the outward and visible part of the flame has been extinguished, and resistance is developing more deeply and widely, converting from demonstrations and protest marches by many thousands to the arrangement of political activity on a low, local level. Street committees have become the primary, base cells of the anti-apartheid movement and are making an ever greater contribution to mobilizing the masses to repulse the regime. Created in response to the call of the ANC "From uncontrollability to the power of the people," they are a prototype for democratic organs of self-government in a future free South Africa. The strike of black miners that developed in August of 1987, in which a record number (over 350,000) of miners took part, confirmed convincingly both the growing might of the organized working class and the determination of the trade unions to wage offensive battles even under the conditions of a state of emergency.

The formation of the UDF and COSATU marked a major step on the path to unity of the people. One cannot fail to note, however, that a number of opposition groups refused to join the UDF, and some are even hostile to it. The process of consolidation in COSATU is also not a simple one. What is going on here? It would seem, after all, that the entire population of South Africa has an equal interest in the destruction of apartheid.

The point is that with the expansion of the makeup of the participants in the liberation movement, people have become included in it that differ considerably from each other in educational level, social affiliations, ideological views and personal aspirations. The work of the ANC to make the anti-racist forces more cohesive has been made more difficult by the deep underground conditions they operate under. The government has also not been idle, fostering schismatic tendencies within their adversaries in any way possible.

Realizing that the threat to its existence has in no way passed, the regime is trying to counter the radical youth from the ANC (the "comrades") with older-generation figures ("fathers"), permanent residents of the "black" suburbs and settlements, migrant workers, energetically "fertilizing the soil" for ideological differences within the protest movement: at the same time as the ANC and the SACP are outlawed as before, "black self-awareness" organizations and left-leaning groups are functioning almost without interference. The authorities are also not forgetting an old and tested method—fanning tribalism, setting certain nationalities against others by, say, arbitrarily distributing territories for inhabitation. The conflicts that flourish thereby are passed off as evidence of the "inability of the blacks to mind their own affairs," not to mention nationwide ones. Gangs recruited among the classless elements that call themselves "vigilantes" (the South African version of "death squads") persecute and kill progressive leaders, while official propaganda portrays these acts of terror as outbursts of ethnic contradictions.

The chief bet, however, is perhaps being placed on forming a "third force" as an alternative to the ANC. Here the choices of the regime are few. The chief minister of the Kwazulu Bantustan and the leader of many Zulu nationalities in the country, G. Bhutelesi, upon whom were placed (and are probably still placed) definite hopes on this plane, has so compromised himself with overt collaboration with the authorities that his reputation has fallen sharply recently. One must think that it is no accident that the United Christian Reconciliation Party appeared a year ago. One can judge its political outlook by the fact that one of the leaders of the party, the bishop Mokoyena, acquired fame by attacking the Archbishop D. Tutu, who can scarcely be accused of leftism, from the right. The effort to create some force that is less odious than the right-nationalistic Inkata organization headed by G. Bhutelesi and, at the same time, more "obedient" than the adherents of D. Tutu is obvious. The archbishop, it is true, regularly declares his anticommunism, but on a number of issues, for example international sanctions against the apartheid state, he expounds views that confound those that would like to count on him as an "alternative" leader.

The authorities have also not refrained from their intention of nurturing the so-called black middle class, that is, the subsegment of the African petty and middle bourgeoisie whose self-interest could be used to oppose revolutionary changes. This process is running into practically insurmountable difficulties, however. First of all, the laws of apartheid, as before, serve as an enormous obstacle on the path of the aspirations of the rising black bourgeoisie. Second, at least today, it is not so inclined to join the regime, since it continues to suffer racial oppression, while the public opinion of their black countrymen keeps them from sliding toward policies of appeasement. Finally, this design cannot be realized all at once, time is needed, and that is just what the authorities do not have.

And so, there is the modest arsenal of tactical variations employed by the racist government: rude violence, belated "cosmetic" reforms and efforts to split the oppressed majority and its organizations and to buy off (figuratively speaking) the most well-off segments of the black population. All of these are the means of yesterday, and no decisive impact can be expected of them today. The regime, I emphasize once again, is devoid of strategic initiative and is in blind defense.

And what of the allies of Pretoria in the West? Lavishing praises on the racists is not a rewarding cause today, not to mention being politically dangerous. On the contrary, there is no shortage of critical declarations even on the part of figures and organizations well known for their right-wing views that have taken on the posture of angry denouncers of apartheid and its immorality and inhumanity.

Imperialism, of course, has not become more humane—the times have changed. Dictators Duvalier in Haiti and Marcos in the Philippines have fallen, the post of Chon

Du Huan in South Korea is reeling and predictions are being made about the departure of Pinochet. Leaders and monopolist circles of the Western powers are realizing more and more clearly that the apartheid regime cannot reliably defend their "vital interests" in the region anymore, where the development of events is threatening them with most serious difficulties, if urgent steps are not taken. No one is rushing to invest capital there—the risk is too great. Proposals for sanctions and a ban on new investment thus are not evoking the former ferocious and unanimous resistance of the powerful in the "free world." Imperialism, which has little nostalgia for the "white gentlemen" of South Africa as before, does not need apartheid in and of itself—it needs to keep South Africa in its sphere of influence. Hence the irritation with the intractability and "unreasonableness" of Pretoria, which are rife with the uncontrollable disintegration of the regime with all of the attendant consequences. The West is seeking a more energetic "self-renewal" from it, having in mind stepping on the brakes and stopping changes when it is felt necessary.

The idea of "constructive engagement" with the government of P. Botha advanced by the United States is directed namely toward the achievement of these goals. This policy cannot be reduced just to the innumerable trips of one of its creators—C. Crocker, assistant secretary of state for African affairs—to southern Africa. Washington congressmen have also visited here, "suddenly" discovering for themselves that apartheid is not wholly compatible with democracy and respect for human rights, as have major entrepreneurs, supposedly craving to improve the situation of the black workers that they exploited for decades without a twinge of conscience, and the high priests of the AFL-CIO, seeking to grace them with the friendship of their trade unions. Some Western trade-union associations, by the way, whose sources of financing have more than once given grounds for scandalous disclosures, are ready to allocate astonishing sums to South African workers' organizations in hopes of strengthening their influence over them. The results of "constructive engagement," however, have not overjoyed its creators: the racist powers, convinced of the continuing pandering of the West, have wasted time, and mistrust of the hypocritical steps of the United States in the region has grown.

To the extent that the situation has worsened in the apartheid state, British imperialism, still just observing the actions of its old partner, has also become more active. London, as opposed to Washington, has no need to send its emissaries to South Africa—the English-speaking portion of the white community there constitutes the base for the accomplishment of its plans. Why make showy but, in essence, useless visits? Telephone calls are sufficient. Most noteworthy in the changing position of England is the readiness for high-level contacts with the leaders of the ANC, apparently at least until it finds a real alternative. It is a well-trodden path—representatives of the South African industrial empire of G. Oppenheimer have already come to such meetings.

Gradually recognizing de facto the ANC, its newly appeared or potential imperialist interlocutors would like to emasculate the socio-economic substance of the changes that could ensue in South Africa under its leadership in advance and reduce to a minimum the harm to their own interests. Forecasts and "scenarios" are multiplying in the West on the further development of the country, seemingly suggesting to the freedom fighters the "best" models for social restructuring. The current patrons of apartheid are nonetheless not smiling at the prospect of coming face to face with the ANC and its allies alone. This explains the re-animation of the overseas activeness of the Pan-African Congress (PAC), having practically no support in the motherland, but seeking to enhance its international reputation in order to have pretensions of participating in its fate.

Circles with a vested interest in "changes without change" are placing no small hopes on the distinctive expressions of slowed action implicit under a future democratic South Africa, such as, for example, the "system of Bantu education" that was introduced three decades ago. Since then, millions of black South Africans have received—if they received anything at all—exactly as much knowledge as is essential to serve as a screw in the economic machinery of apartheid. A government of the majority will inevitably run into the exceedingly acute problem of a shortage of personnel. The history of revolutions in various countries testifies to the fact that a certain portion of the workers of the former state and economic apparatus went over to loyal collaboration with the new authorities, however much more often it recounts open sabotage of their measures by officials and technical specialists.

Programs to prepare skilled personnel for South Africa from among the black, "coloreds" and Indians have been developed today in the United States, Great Britain, West Germany and other developed capitalist countries. The quantity of the stipends granted to them has grown by over ten times. An analogous program is being implemented by Western firms on the spot. This unexpected outburst of altruism could have been welcomed if it did not conceal counting on creating a middle echelon of the "national" administrative and technical personnel that is intended to slow radical changes in South African society.

Or here is something that seems to be even clearer: those in favor of applying all-encompassing compulsory sanctions against the criminal regime are the genuine advocates of the liberation of South Africa and Namibia. Sanctions would undoubtedly facilitate a sobering up of the racist minority and the dismantling of apartheid. The simple truth is, however, that they cannot lead to victory over the enemy in and of themselves. Western do-gooders recommend them as a means of avoiding armed conflict. Such assertions (dispassionate, genuine or hypocritical) are objectively aimed at demoralizing the South African patriots. The passive waiting for the fine day when apartheid is eliminated by exclusively peaceful

means is threatening to drag on to infinity. It is namely the issue of armed struggle that is the watershed between the genuine friends of the liberation movement and those who are playing political games around it.

The current tactics of imperialism with regard to Namibia, upon whom the racists are trying to foist a neocolonialist version of "independence" with the mediation of a puppet "provisional government," deserve attention. Understanding that the fall of their dominion in this country would inspire the opponents of apartheid in South Africa itself to a decisive storm, they are using reverse reasoning: wouldn't the outward appearance of a settlement there stabilize the situation here? This means that one must under any pretext evade fulfilling the UN resolution on Namibia to keep SWAPO—the sole legal representative of the Namibian people—from coming to power. Pretoria's designs are fully supported by its imperialist sponsors. Although the Namibian people's fight for freedom is developing steadily, it is almost impossible to learn anything of it from the Western bourgeois press, which surrounds this topic with a dense curtain of silence.

The international movement against apartheid, today comparable in scope to the movement against the war in Vietnam in the late 1960s and early 1970s, is evoking more and more uneasiness among the ruling circles of the United States, Great Britain and the other NATO member countries. Such growth in protests by society deprives them of freedom of maneuver and makes it impossible for them to give the racist regime the aid it needs.

The crisis in the system of apartheid is irreversible. The liberation struggle in South Africa can have ascents and temporary declines, but a return to the situation that existed there in the middle of 1984 cannot exist. The patriots doubtless have difficult tests ahead, and foreign and domestic reaction will undertake all types of new and more refined efforts to stop them halfway. That is why a realistic evaluation of the situation that is not given to illusions and can identify and disrupt the plans of the adversary is so essential. The enormous experience accumulated by the ANC over the three quarters of a century of its activity serves as a pledge that the oppressed masses of South Africa will be able to reach their cherished goal—the destruction of apartheid and the creation of a democratic multiracial state.

#### Footnote

1. For more detail see: V. Molev. "The Storm Troopers of Neofascism."—*Aziya i Afrika segodnya*, 1987, No 6.

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### **Economic, Political Reconstruction in Vietnam Assessed**

*18070028f Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 11, Nov 87 pp 36-38*

[Article by Ye. Leng under the rubric "Travels, Meetings, Impressions": "Vietnam—The Revolution Continues"]

[Text] Doan Thi Bach Tuyet greeted the fifty-fifth anniversary of October on the "Island of Death." This name has become firmly affixed to the island of Con Dao, located off the southern coast of Vietnam. It was turned into a prison with an especially strict regimen for communists by the pro-American authorities.

"Tiger cages" with grids instead of a ceiling, a liter of water a day for 12 people, two or three spoonfuls of rice, constant taunting by the guards raining quicklime on those that displayed the least dissatisfaction. Thousands of revolutionaries did not return from that accursed island, interred in nameless graves leveled off by bulldozer. Confinement in the prison on Con Dao meant almost certain death. And what glory is deserved by those who not only were able to survive within those torture-chambers, but to remain unbroken!

#### **Snow White from the "Island of Death"**

Snow White is how the name of Bach Tuyet translates from Vietnamese. When her parents named her in honor of the heroine in the famous fairy tale of the Brothers Grimm in 1952, they could not have known that this name would be borne by a courageous member of the underground. At the beginning of 1970, Snow White took part in six operations in Saigon as part of a small combat group. The revolutionary movement was suffering somewhat of a decline in the south at that time. The press of the puppet regime rushed to declare the "collapse of the Saigon underground." The unexpected raids of the Bach Tuyet group on the administrative centers of various parts of the city demonstrated to everyone the hastiness of this conclusion. They became a kind of point of reckoning for the movement that burst forth with newfound power and a signal of the fact that the underground was alive and fighting. Bach Tuyet was later awarded the title of Hero of the Armed Forces of the SRV [Socialist Republic of Vietnam] for those bold combat operations.

Bach Tuyet was captured in the sixth battle. There was but one road for those such as her—to Con Dao.

"The date of November 7, 1972 will always be imprinted in my memory," relates Doan Thi Bach Tuyet. "The night before, friends had reported through quiet tapping on the tiger cage that the convicts of Con Dao had decided solemnly to observe the 55th anniversary of the October Revolution. We put on everything clean with a special feeling. At an agreed-upon signal, all of the women in our cell stood up. We stood and were silent.

And we each thought our own thoughts. I knew that our comrades were standing in the neighboring cells. And I knew that our thoughts were in common. That the people of Vietnam would triumph. That we were not alone in our struggle. That someday the 'Island of Death' would become a normal geographical point on the map of the country and that the red flag of revolution would flutter over it.

"The guards on Con Dao were experienced," she continued. "They had foreseen that the underground would have to organize joint action on the anniversary of October. After all, it had already happened more than once..."

Soon the thumping of tear-gas grenades was heard. The overseers had decided to "restore order," although formally no one had disrupted it: no slogans were heard, all was quiet... The overseers were frightened by the spiritual unity of the people who were silently standing up to full height in the tiger cages on the anniversary of a revolution in a country that seemed so far away from Con Dao.

"Many began to choke from the tear gas," said Snow White. "But we understood that we had won a small victory in the torture chambers of the Island of Death."

An uprising of the prisoners burst out on 30 Apr 75, the very day Saigon fell. On May 1 naval boats of the patriotic forces entered the Bay of Akulyu. Among those meeting them on the pier was Doan Thi Bach Tuyet, who had long before made out the red flags over the boats snapping in the sea breeze.

#### **Plans and Hopes**

"You know, in my opinion, our country is closer to the ideals of the revolution than three or four years ago," a well-known Vietnamese journalist told me. "Figuratively speaking, we have checked our course against the compass of October and the August Revolution in Vietnam and have made corrections in it."

Yes, history, even if it is the history of a country where a revolution led by communists has triumphed, is rarely reminiscent of a straight upward line. If one recalls the history of Vietnam in the last 12 years, the most important event in it—after the victory of the power of the people in the south and the creation of the unified SRV—was the 6th Communist Party Congress that was held in December of last year. It proclaimed a course of renewal in all spheres of social life and projected a realistic program for surmounting the serious difficulties the republic is experiencing.

It fell to me to illuminate the work of this forum of Vietnamese communists. I remember with what interest the local and foreign journalists caught every word that sounded from the rostrum and how the whole country awaited its decisions.

"We have had more than a decade of building socialism on the scale of the whole state and have extracted useful lessons," emphasized the Political Report of the CPV [Communist Party of Vietnam] Central Committee to the 6th Party Congress. "Whether development will proceed at fast or slow rates, and whether we will achieve many successes—all of this depends to a considerable extent on a correct regard for all of the concrete lessons and the completion of the reforms we have begun."

Almost a year has passed since the conclusion of the congress. The process of renewal continues in all walks of life in Vietnam. It is not going smoothly. In his speech at the congress, CPV Central Committee General Secretary Nguyen Van Linh emphasized that "a difficult revolutionary struggle lies ahead in all walks of our life and in each one of us." This struggle is transpiring in the country today with unabated acuity. Not all have had a positive perception of the changes, but they are gradually clearing the road despite the fact that, in the statement of CPV Central Committee Politburo member Vo Van Kiet, "the word 'restructuring' evokes hostility in some quarters."

The position of glasnost has been considerably strengthened in Vietnamese society over the last year, the reputation of the party has grown, the socio-political activity of the workers has been seriously increased and important personnel re-arrangements have occurred. Much that is new has been accomplished in the realm of economic management: the changes in this sphere are aimed at eliminating bureaucratic administrative management methods that have discredited themselves. An important step has been taken in granting independence to enterprises and cooperatives and in introducing economic accountability [khozrashchet]. The policy of renewal is already making itself felt with enhanced indicators of economic growth and a narrowing of the sphere of influence of stagnant phenomena on the life of the republic.

Many in Vietnam would like restructuring to move more quickly. These are, apparently, the same good intentions of which the well-known proverb warns. The CPV policy of renewal is being implemented in deliberate fashion, without undue haste, which was much criticized at the congress, but consistently and unwaveringly. More real socialism, more efficiency, more social justice—that is a brief formulation of the essence of the changes taking place in Vietnam. That is why I am not surprised by the words of the Vietnamese journalist that, having corrected the course according to the compass of October and August, the SRV is now closer to the revolutionary ideals than it was several years ago.

#### A Foot Soldier of Renewal

The director of the pharmaceuticals plant located in the city of Vinh Long, the administrative center of Cuu Long in the Mekong Delta, is 39 years old. But he looks considerably younger. This is probably the fault of the

happy flashes that are always shining in his eyes. I imagine how they must have blazed when Doan Linh was scolded for arbitrariness, a disrespectful attitude toward management and libertarianism. What labels they tried to hang on him at one time! It is no accident that his friends call Linh (translated figuratively from Vietnamese) "risky fellow."

"The fight of new against old is always a very difficult process," Linh told me. "And when you go out ahead of decrees and directives on some issues, these difficulties increase manifold."

My first meeting with Nguyen Doan Linh was in the spring of 1986, when the republic was preparing for the 6th CPV Congress.

"I await its decisions with great impatience," the director had said then. "I perceive the process of renewal of the economic structure, management and various aspects of the life of society that has begun in Vietnam as a cause in which I have a vital vested interest myself."

The pharmaceutical plant in Vinh Long was founded in 1976. A small enterprise at first with 20 people working there, it has today been transformed into a major modern enterprise. The value of the products produced here has already passed a billion dong. Export receipts, including from Japan and other countries in the Far East, are up to a million dollars. There are over 500 workers at the plant today. A cohesive and competent collective of like thinkers true to its cause has taken shape. Much of the honor for the achievements of the enterprise belongs to the director personally and his boldness and civil position. But how did all of this come about...

"Sometimes the reality of the economic life of the country has not coincided with the multitude of directives and instructions," related Doan Linh. "We have an expression in Vietnam: 'It is forbidden to jump the fence, but if you don't jump, you perish.' Our plant has sometimes proven to be in approximately such a position."

Nguyen Doan Linh, figuratively speaking, has had to solve more than once the well-known riddle of how to take a wolf, goat and cabbage across a river with only room for one in a boat. And he has solved it in his own way. He has refrained from fulfilling old directives and began a large-scale economic experiment at the plant at his own risk. Thi Hoang, the editor in chief of the provincial newspaper *Cuu Long* and an experienced and conscientious journalist striving with all his might to support these shoots of the new, related the following instance to me.

The pharmaceutical plant was experiencing an acute shortage of raw materials. It should have been supplied to Vinh Long in centralized fashion, but disruptions

occurred constantly. The director prepared a memorandum for the ministry but, without waiting for the delayed decision, began buying medicinal raw materials independently from the local population and in neighboring provinces. In the same year, the plant produced output well beyond the plan and idle time was reduced to a minimum. And the gain went to the sector and the enterprise.

People were nonetheless found who accused Doan Linh of a negligent attitude toward the norms of socialist business management. An inspection commission operated at the enterprise and the director was "called onto the carpet" at the ministry. Communist Nguyen Doan Linh gave his self-accounting before the CPV committee of Cuu Long Province for three days. "This was justified," he felt, "by the fact that the issue was being resolved not just for me, but for the rules of state enterprises and their management under the specific conditions of modern-day Vietnam."

And I had another meeting with Doan Linh a year later. What had changed? What was the decision of the higher authorities? It was unambiguous: the actions of the director were considered not arbitrariness, but rather a model of socialist enterprise. The experience of the enterprise was disseminated to the whole sector.

"Today the worst is behind us," said Doan Linh. "The 6th Congress gave its weighty word in favor of progress and renewal. New prospects have opened up for the enterprise. And you can be sure that we will make use of every opportunity in the interests of further developing the sector and improving the quality and increasing the variety of the medicines we put out."

The enterprise has trimmed administrative personnel to 31 people in the time since the congress. Those that were released from work in the office went into the shop—naturally, on a voluntary basis. The wage fund for administrative personnel was 100-percent preserved therein. It was distributed according to the contribution of each to the end result. Deputy Director Luong Van Hoa, for example, is today carrying out the work of four department chiefs. He thus receives wages that are four times greater than before.

The plant has been granted much more independence today. They procure ninety percent of the raw materials here themselves. A snake nursery has been opened along with a farm for the breeding of goats and cows, from whose blood serum is obtained, along with a medicinal crop cultivation station. The transition to new business management methods has also led to the fact that the enterprise surrenders only 60 percent of its profits to the state budget. The rest is totally at its disposal. In the upcoming months, the percentage of deductions from profit should be reduced to fifty percent.

Today the people's committee for Cuu Long Province is involving Doan Linh in developing prospective plans for the economic development of the region and large-scale work on changing production management. They listen to his advice: the director has a good reputation.

I have a great liking for this person. I like his open smile, his joie de vivre, his love of beauty. There are always fresh flowers on the director's desk. They help him work better, acknowledged Nguyen Doan Linh. Few know that Doan Linh has borne a great loss. He is raising two children by himself. His wife, Hoang, died four years ago. During the war, the partisan detachment she fought in was covered with a layer of the Agent Orange defoliant from an American plane. They imparted no significance to this at the time. But the poison quietly and methodically sapped Hoang and her strength. And then a funeral and orphaned children. Perhaps that is why Doan Linh works so purposefully in medicine, producing vitamins and new types of medicines and patent drugs. The doctors were powerless to help his wife. Let the medicines produced at the plant in Vinh Long return the health to thousands of ill people, ease their suffering and make them whole people.

Nguyen Doan Linh does not hide the fact that he will continue to fight for renewal with all his strength. Today he feels much more confident in this fight than before. Because his time and the time for those like him has come. Because the time for change is here.

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### **Book Views Spread of Marxist-Leninist Ideology in Africa**

18070028g Moscow *AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA* in Russian No 11, Nov 87 p 62

[Review "The Spread of Marxism-Leninism in Africa" by Doctor of Historical Sciences A. Khazanov of book "Rasprostraneniye marksizma-leninizma v Afrike (Voprosy istorii, teorii i praktiki)" [The Spread of Marxism-Leninism in Africa (Questions of History, Theory and Practice)]. Editor-in-chief An.A. Gromyko. Moscow, Oriental Literature Section of Nauka Publishing House, 1987, 333 pp]

[Text] The experience of world socialism and the workers' and national-liberation movement has affirmed the historical correctness of Marxist-Leninist teaching. One testimony to the vitality and enormous transformational power of this teaching is the widespread dissemination of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism in Africa. The monograph, prepared by a group of academic associates of the Africa Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences, is devoted to this problem.

The Soviet scholars have undertaken what is in essence the first attempt in domestic or foreign academic literature to show the process of affirmation of the ideas of scientific socialism on the African continent in all of its complex and multifaceted nature. Using a great deal of largely documented material, the book deeply researches the general laws, specific features and paths of dissemination of Marxist-Leninist teaching in Africa and shows the practical activity of the African revolutionaries in the creative application of Marxism-Leninism in individual countries, as well as the role of scientific socialism in the revolutionary transformation of post-colonial society.

The authors scrupulously trace step by step the history of the movement of socialist ideas on the continent—from the work of their first propagators in northern and southern Africa in the second half of the 19th century to the activity of the ruling parties of a Marxist-Leninist type in Ethiopia, Congo, Angola, Mozambique and other countries.

One undisputed merit of the research is its academic objectivity. The authors do not skirt the "rough edges" and do not remain silent about the errors and miscalculations of the African revolutionaries, especially expressed in the revolutionary-romantic perception of reality, "ultra-revolutionariness," an impatient desire to skip past certain phases of development (and the stage of capitalist development in particular) and the advancement of unrealistic programs.

The authors feel that the chief obstacle on the path toward the affirmation of scientific socialism as an ideology being realized in practice is the weakness of the African proletariat. The majority of African Marxist theoreticians are moreover refugees from the petty bourgeoisie, intelligentsia and other middle-class population segments and thus, before coming to Marxism, as a rule, they had undergone a difficult ideological evolution, overcoming the influence of the conceptions and prejudices of their environment.

Of much interest is the fourth section of the book, "Marxism-Leninism and the Ideological Struggle," in which bourgeois, social-reformist and clerical concepts of the "alien nature" and artificial introduction of the ideas of scientific socialism in Africa are convincingly refuted. The authors' conclusion seems extremely well reasoned: "The events of recent years testify to the fact that the dissemination of Marxism-Leninism have proceeded both in depth and in breadth. On the one hand, interest is growing in its methodology in academic circles, and broader segments of African society are obtaining access to Marxist sources, while on the other hand a gradual transition from perception of the theories of Marxism to attempts to realize them under local conditions is underway" (p 309).

The book is not free of certain shortcomings. More attention should have been paid to an analysis of the ideological legacy of the prominent African revolutionary and scholar Amilkar Cabral, whose concepts have

had and continue to have an enormous influence on the theory and practice of the ruling parties of all the Portuguese-speaking countries of Africa along with some others.

The inclusion of a chapter on the Revolutionary Party of Tanzania, which, as is well known, is not in the vanguard, in the third section, where the ideological activity of the vanguard workers' parties is analyzed, does not seem to be justified. If the authors had in mind a consideration of the work of all revolutionary-democratic parties in this section, it is unclear why the Algerian National Liberation Front, the Democratic Party of Guinea, the Popular Party of the Ghana Convention, the Sudan Alliance of Mali and the like are missing here.

It is well known that the 1980s have been typified by a sharp worsening of the ideological struggle in the international arena. Imperialism is undertaking massive attacks on Marxist-Leninist ideology and is striving to block its growing influence on the developing countries, including the African ones. Bourgeois ideologists are striving to discredit the fundamental principles of the theory of non-capitalist development and to prove the inapplicability of Marxism-Leninism to African conditions. The authors' successful attempt to elaborate on the real breadth of the dissemination and the degree of influence of Marxism-Leninism in Africa thus merits approval.

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**Book Review: National Liberation Movement vs Neocolonialism**

18070028h Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 11, Nov 87 pp 62-63

[Review "In the Fight against Neocolonialism" by Candidates of Philosophical Sciences Yu. Ulanovskiy and I. Shatilo of book "Natsionalno-osvoboditelnoye dvizheniye protiv neokolonializma" [The National-Liberation Movement Versus Neocolonialism] by V.V. Vakh-rushev. Moscow, Mezhdunarodnyye Otnosheniya Publishing House, 1986, 264 pp]

[Text] The book regards neocolonialism as a continuation of the old colonial policies of imperialism under changed historical conditions with the aid of new means and methods. The author includes among them first and foremost various forms of capital export: the creation and activity of multinational companies and banks and international funds and consortiums; steps to provide guarantees against risks in both capital investment, loans and credit and in profits; the convergence of finance and credit organizations with the objects of exploitation;

and, "hidden capital export." The neocolonialists are also making use of "aid" programs and new foreign-trade methods for their own purposes (more elaborate forms of non-equivalent exchange, dumping and protectionism). In order to preserve the dependent position of the developing countries, the neocolonizers are resorting to intervention in the internal affairs of the young states and ideological diversions, provoking armed conflicts and local wars and, finally, making use of international and regional institutions for mercenary purposes.

The book devotes much attention to uncovering the ruinous social consequences of the arms race, into which many of the liberated countries have been dragged through the fault of the imperialists. This diverts enormous funds and resources from the sphere of social creation and leads to the accumulation of internal problems and difficulties in the developing countries while restraining their economic and social development, increasing foreign indebtedness and, as a rule, consolidating their dependent and subordinate positions. The author leads the reader to the conclusion that the fight for universal disarmament is simultaneously a fight for the economic and social progress for the liberated countries.

The economic crises of 1973-75 and 1979-82, which struck all of the developed capitalist countries and at the same time aggravated the difficulties of the Third World, sharply strengthened the aggressiveness of U.S. imperialism and its pretensions for world dominion. This made necessary a new ascent in the struggle of the liberated countries to reinforce their political independence and the achievement of economic independence. In analyzing this struggle, the author concludes that two important trends can be discerned within it. First, the young states are shifting from scattered anti-imperialist actions toward collective acts. Second, the fight for concessions of local significance has escalated into programmed and

collectively devised demands by these countries for a radical restructuring of the whole system of international political and economic relations, touching on the very foundations of the world capitalist economy and the neocolonialist policies of imperialism.

The author feels that the neocolonialist policies of imperialism should lead to a further strengthening of the anti-imperialist potential of the non-aligned movement, in which over 100 states of Asia, Oceania, Africa, Latin America and Europe with a population of over 1.5 billion people participate today (p 152). One argument in favor of developing namely these trends in the non-aligned movement is the growth in the number and influence in it of states with progressive regimes and the shift of a number of countries onto the path of socialist orientation.

In speaking of the future of the liberated countries, Vakhrushev notes that "They may achieve their aims, but under one indispensable condition: the continuation and expansion of an uncompromising struggle against the aggressive neocolonialist policies of imperialism and energetic support for the initiatives of the USSR and the other countries of the socialist community in the fight for peace and disarmament under conditions of close collaboration in all realms with them and among them" (p 252). Such is the overall conclusion of the book. Using and systematizing an enormous amount of factual material, it is a great help for all who are studying the problems of the national liberation movement.

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**CEMA Experience Held Relevant To USSR  
Export Organization**

18250042 Leningrad VESTNIK LENINGRADSKOGO  
UNIVERSITETA: SERIYA 5—EKONOMIKA in  
Russian No 26, Dec 87 pp 46-52

[Article by N. A. Cherkasov: "Export Activities in  
CEMA Countries: Economic-Organizational Problems"]

[Text] In order to deal with the tasks established by the 27th CPSU Congress related to more than doubling work productivity by the year 2000 it is essential to utilize the entire complex of intensification factors, including the international experience of organizing export operations in CEMA countries. At the contemporary stage of the scientific-technical revolution export, especially in machine building, is becoming an important condition for raising the quality and technical level of production, and for accelerating the transition to new technologies and a high level of technological discipline. The international market makes strict demands on the basic parameters that determine the quality level of export goods and stimulates an improvement in quality to reflect the highest world standard. In connection with this the improvement of export production organization and the sale of export products acquires a priority significance in USSR associations and enterprises not only in economic but in political terms as well.

Our party's 27th congress pointed to the necessity to "turn ministries, associations and enterprises in the direction of increasing the country's export potential," to increase the competitiveness of machinery, equipment and other manufactured goods and to bring strict order to the expenditure of currency resources.<sup>(1)</sup> The utilization of the experience of other CEMA countries regarding the organization of export operations enables us to curtail time spent looking for effective solutions and facilitates a drawing together of national systems of administering foreign economic ties, which is essential for strengthening socialist economic integration.

Under the conditions of perestroika of foreign economic operations by USSR enterprises (associations) and on this basis under conditions of intensification of socialist production and integrated cooperation, the experience of other CEMA countries in the area of improving the interrelationship between industry and foreign trade is of special interest.

The objective process of development of the international division of labor is responsible for the expansion and deepening of industrial and scientific-technical cooperation in the international socialist and capitalist economy as well as within the sphere of inter-system economic ties. The significance of close cooperation in

production and in foreign trade increases correspondingly. Within the international socialist economy this cooperation receives an additional impulse from the development of new international production relations which exclude exploitation and discrimination from international economic life.

Various forms of combining production and foreign trade have developed in all socialist countries that are making the transition from extensive to intensive expanded reproduction. But in countries which are more dependent on foreign trade for their production than the USSR is such forms have developed sooner. In such countries commission contractual relations between enterprises and foreign trade organizations have become widespread. In some countries, as for example in Hungary, special associations exist in the form of partnerships. In accordance with a commission contract which establishes the volume, conditions, delivery schedule and quality of goods, the foreign trade organization services the production enterprise for commission compensation. The partnerships unite production enterprises and foreign trade organizations in an organized manner either only within the sphere of circulation or within the sphere of production and sale of export products as well. In the first instance the association fulfills a primarily coordinating function, establishes prices and distributes profits among participants. In the second, joint economic operations are carried out encompassing production and sales, planning for common expenditures and a close interrelationship among participants of the association. The first of the aforementioned forms was developed in Bulgaria as well in the form of foreign trade collaboratives which are created by economic organizations, including by enterprises, on a shareholding basis. In Poland such shareholding partnerships have the form of stockholding societies in which the stock of foreign trade organizations equals 51 percent and of enterprises — 49 percent.

Another direction for combining production and foreign trade involves including foreign trade organizations among production enterprises (associations). This practice is most widespread in the GDR, where industrial combines usually have cost-accounting foreign trade subdivisions.

No less important is the experience of implementing the principles of democratic centralism in the production and sale of export products. For many years now the foreign CEMA countries have been taking practical steps directed at expanding the rights of enterprises in foreign economic activity. Industrial enterprises (associations), with the participation of foreign trade organizations, are developing their own plans, and sometimes also the concepts for developing export production and for taking charge of the foreign market. Enterprises participate actively in the development of state plans of foreign trade exchange. In a number of countries, as for example the GDR and CSSR, government organs establish for industry the upper and lower limits of the volume of

production for the foreign market. Within these limits enterprises (associations) can alter the plan. They have acquired the right to conclude long-term contracts with foreign trade organizations, the right for direct access to the world market (when foreign trade subdivisions exist within production associations), as well as the right for short-term and long-term currency credit.

At the same time socialist states are improving centralized initiatives related to managing foreign economic ties. For the purpose of having a close interrelationship between production and foreign trade, Bulgaria, the GDR, Rumania and other countries have developed a system of double subordination — to foreign trade and to industrial ministries — for foreign trade organizations. Foreign trade ministries are freed from dealing with operations tasks, but at the same time their role increases as centers for strategic decisions, for coordinating foreign economic operations for enterprises and organizations, and for government (non-departmental) control over exports and imports. With the goal of stimulating export production in European CEMA countries the practice of government subsidies and grants is extensively utilized. In Hungary, for example, such subsidies and grants are established for a period of several years.

Changes in the practice of utilizing the principles of democratic centralism while organizing export work signify, in the final analysis, that socialist countries are beginning to implement complete cost accounting within the sphere of foreign economic activities as well. The corresponding experience of foreign CEMA countries has already been reflected in the resolutions of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers on the radical improvement of management of foreign economic ties, and in the resolutions of USSR Law on the government enterprise (association) and requires further study.

The accumulated experience confirms that with the transition to intensive reproduction it is essential to alter the system of directive indexes and to sharply expand the area in which economic management methods are used, including in work related to export. With the general tendency to curtail the number of directive indicators of economic activity established by enterprises in a centralized manner, in most European CEMA countries there has been a growth in the importance of indexes that characterize the basic parameters of production and sales of export products and procurement abroad — the volume of exports (imports) in natural and cost form, currency receipts of profits from exports (or clear currency income), export-import balance (or trade balance). At the same time a bigger and bigger role is being played by indexes which characterize the total income of the enterprise from its activity in the domestic and foreign market such as the "single financial result" in GDR combines or the "total profits" of the CSSR.

In accordance with the principles of complete cost accounting enterprises establish the goals of achieving self-supporting production in developing foreign economic ties, of rejecting state subsidies and of more extensively utilizing foreign exchange credit. Self-supporting production assumes that income from export will cover expenditures of enterprises involving the import of the means of production, licenses, payment of interest on loans and so forth. Here currency coefficients are perfected for the purpose of a more precise exchange of foreign currency into national currency and in order that export-import operations be reflected more completely in the general work results of enterprises (associations).

In striving to influence the foreign economic activities of enterprises through economic methods, foreign CEMA countries actively utilize norms and limits. First and foremost they establish a percentage of the sum total of currency proceeds which export enterprises can lay claim to depending on the fulfillment or overfulfillment by them of the plan for export deliveries. In the GDR the enterprise's share in profits from exports is determined according to a particular standard. In the GDR and Rumania the currency deduction standard for overfulfillment of the export plan is utilized — up to 25 percent of the above-plan currency and so forth. In a number of countries standards relating to the profitability of export activities and to commission compensation for the services of foreign trade organizations for the purpose of managing foreign economic activities of enterprises (organizations) are established in order to manage foreign economic operations. In Hungary a standard is utilized which determines the schedule for the return on capital investments that are made using income from exports. Some countries also utilize standards relating to export grants and subsidies (primarily for above-plan export and for increasing the currency effectiveness of export). Currency deductions into bonus funds play a large role in developing complete cost accounting and in economically regulating export production. Thus, in GDR combines a standard has been established for deductions into the bonus fund for the overfulfillment of plan export tasks in the amount of 20 marks per each borrowed mark for every percent the plan was overfulfilled. Rumanian enterprises receive, in addition to export premiums, up to 10 percent of profits from above-plan export deliveries; this sum goes into a fund that enables workers to share in profits. If export plans are not fulfilled the bonus fund in enterprises is decreased by the number of percentage points by which the plan has been underfulfilled.

The most important limits utilized in the management of enterprises include: limits on convertible currency to pay for imports; credit limits; and limits on basic types of raw materials, materiel and import technology that is in short supply.

Methods of economic stimulation also include preferential supplies of raw materials and materiel, preferential treatment in the levying of taxes, special bonuses for

achievements in the development of export production and for economizing on currency resources, the planning of differentiated prices for export products or the determination of principles for establishing such prices, a competitive system for obtaining credit to expand export production (in Hungary, for example, to obtain such credit it is essential to guarantee repayment within 5 years by means of currency profits, to achieve no less than 15 percent profitability in utilizing loans, stable receipt of profits of convertible currency and so forth).

An assessment of this foreign experience for the intensification of the process of increasing the export potential of our country and subsequent implementation of the corresponding resolutions of USSR Law on the state enterprise (association) requires a more exact definition of the place of the exchange of experience within the system of international economic relations in socialism. Practical decisions on the use of the experience of foreign socialist countries depends to a significant degree on the depth of our theoretical concepts regarding the essence of the international exchange of experience.

Up until now in economic science the political-economic characteristics of many phenomena of the international system of socialism have arisen out of the inadequately-critical perception of terminology and assessments which arise and acquire an everyday character in the practice of cooperation. As a result, we do not distinguish to the necessary degree among interrelated but ambiguous phenomena, which creates difficulties in developing practical recommendations on accelerating socio-economic development as well as in strengthening integration of CEMA countries.

In our opinion, the exchange of experience is one of the most informative aspects of direct international ties, which in turn represent one of the forms of international mutual exchange of activities. Other forms of the latter include international production and scientific-technical cooperation and management of cooperation. Direct ties, cooperation and management are mutually dependent and even interwoven but at the same time relatively independent phenomena. They depend on foreign trade exchange and determine its development but even this kind of exchange is an independent phenomenon.

In practice all the aforementioned economic forms are united within the framework of inter-government agreements and contracts on economic and scientific-technical cooperation. It is the judicial form that creates in practical workers, and then after them in a large number of theoreticians, the ideas according to which: a) direct ties are often characterized as market-related; b) direct ties are characterized as an integral part of cooperation and management; c) international cooperation, joint management (above all coordinated plan activities) and even joint enterprises are viewed as forms of direct international ties; d) terms such as "direct cooperation" and "cooperation on a macro- or micro-level" that do not have a scientific foundation are utilized (at the

macrolevel (of governments, departments) we have not cooperation but only its contractual, legal formulations); e) commodity deliveries according to direct (without intermediaries) contractual relations are assessed as direct international ties. Thus we have differences in interpreting such ties as well as conflict of points of view, which does not facilitate improvements in the practice of mutual exchange of activities within the international socialist community.

The economic structure of socialism is characterized by direct public and commodity-money relations. Direct ties in the national and international socialist economy is a manifestation of the direct and public nature of labor. Defining them as "direct" precisely reflects the nature of these ties within socialism. Their content is created by means of the exchange of ideas, experience and mutual information, and by means of the preparation of scientific-technical and economic decisions on the basis of such an exchange within the framework of national economic complexes and in the realm of international cooperation. The mechanism of direct ties, including international, constitutes systems of information, generalization and dissemination of progressive experience, systematic consultations, exchange of delegations, specialists and brigades, meetings, conferences and talks. These ties are an organizational expression of the utilization of the human, or more precisely of the individual, factor in the interest of increasing the level of systematization in economic development. The individual factor represents the sum total of initiative, enterprise, organization, dependability, discipline and responsibility on the part of workers who in the final analysis determine the quality of labor and the opportunity for effective joint decisions.

In relations between socialist countries direct ties, and in particular the exchange of experience, contribute to the development of production and scientific-technical cooperation, joint trade and joint planning and management. However, this does not provide a basis for identifying them with the aforementioned economic forms.

Thus, within the sphere of scientific-technical cooperation cooperative interaction (joint labor on the basis of joint programs or division of programs among countries) is not in itself a direct tie, whereas the exchange of scientific ideas, international information, transfer of documentation free of charge, the demonstration of cooperation in implementing scientific-technical achievements that are conveyed to foreign countries by means of posting specialists there and so forth do represent direct ties. Trade without middlemen does not belong to the sphere of direct international ties within the sphere of barter but joint study of markets, advertising (including the transmission of advertising prospectuses, the organization of international exhibits), mutual commercial information, observation of the installation of equipment being sold, and so on, do. The activity itself involving the development and implementation of administrative decisions, particular joint planning,

does not reflect direct international ties in management, but the exchange of planning and forecasting experience and of reciprocal information on prepared administrative decisions, on capital investment policy and on programs of scientific-technical progress, and so on, do.

The singling out of international exchange of experience and other direct international ties from the general process of "direct interaction within the sphere of science, technology, material production and capital building" (2) of socialist countries enables us to determine the circle of specific decisions that are essential for the effective utilization of foreign experience of organizing export work.

The resolutions of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers, "On Measures to Improve the Management of Foreign Economic Ties" and "On Measures to Improve the Management of Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation in Socialist Countries" (3) give Soviet enterprises (associations) extensive rights in the development of direct ties with enterprises and organizations of other CEMA countries within the framework of direct ties, which significantly simplifies the organization of making assignments to foreign posts. This creates favorable opportunities for the effective exchange of experience in the interest of increasing the total export potential of socialist cooperation.

To the specific tasks of international exchange of experience, which is very important for our country, we should add first and foremost the continued study of the legal documentation of foreign CEMA countries in order to maximally bring together legal norms that regulate foreign economic activity and to clearly demarcate the rights of the government and cost accounting economic links in this area. For successful implementation of foreign economic activity, the enterprise (association) must have at its disposal full information on promising participation of the branch in the international division of labor and in socialist economic integration, on foreign partners and competitors and on the condition and prognoses for the development of the international commodity market. The significance of international exchange of experience in meeting this goal increases correspondingly.

With the goal of accelerating scientific-technical progress and increasing competitiveness of export products in the USSR the following is essential:

—to create a developed system of departmental and interdepartmental centers to study and disseminate leading foreign experience related to the organization of export operations;

—to extensively utilize the practice of joint solutions to urgent problems of export production on the basis of creating temporary international collectives from among representatives of enterprises, NII [Scientific research institutes] and higher educational institutions;

—to simplify, as in industry, the procedure of assigning specialists of the higher school abroad and to give the right to the directors of higher educational institutions to directly deal with questions of developing direct international ties and of making personnel assignments to CEMA countries.

—to extensively utilize the practice of concluding economic contracts between departments of higher educational institutions and enterprises (associations) for developing recommendations on foreign economic activity and for increasing the competitiveness of export production;

—to create regional scientific-methodological centers on the problems of export production, and in the large economic regions, to develop sections on foreign economic ties between industrial enterprises within councils for accelerating scientific-technical progress of party obkoms, and in particular of the Leningrad CPSU OK [Oblast Committee].

#### Footnotes

1. Materials of the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Moscow, 1986, p 257.
2. Economic Conference of CEMA Countries at the Highest Levels on 12-14 June 1984, Moscow, 1984, p 20.
3. PRAVDA, 1986, 24 September.

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**Interview with Panamanian President Solis Palma**

18070074 [Editorial report] Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian for 1 March 1988 publishes on page 3 a 700-word article by APN correspondent M. Baklanov recounting an interview with Manuel Solis Palma, acting president of Panama. Baklanov states that this was the first interview by any journalist with Solis Palma after his selection as acting president. He cites Solis Palma as saying that the crisis in Panama is the result of U.S. attempts to perpetuate its military presence in Panama and to dictate

"the role of the armed forces in Panamanian society." Solis Palam is further cited as saying that there was a split within the Panamanian government between those who wanted to make "concessions" to the United States, and those who wanted to "strengthen the country's sovereignty," to "return to the principles of governance proclaimed by Omar Torrijos," and to "return to an active policy within the non-aligned movement." Finally, Baklanov reports an allegation by Solis Palma that the U.S. forces in the canal area are in a "state of heightened combat alert."

**Indian Editor Accuses CIA of Supporting  
Separatists in Punjab**

18070075 [Editorial Report] Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian carries on 2 March 1988 on pages 1 and 4 a 500-word article by N. Paklin, entitled "Punjab: Separatists and Their Patrons," which recounts a telephone interview Paklin conducted with Jagjit Singh Anand, chief editor of the Punjab newspaper in Jalandhar, NAWAN ZAMANA. Anand notes that although terrorism is not new to Punjab state, terrorist activity increased markedly in the beginning of the year. The terrorists' goal is to break Punjab and adjoining territory away from India and to create an independent Sikh state, Khalistan. According to Anand, this is an entirely unrealistic goal because the terrorists are in the minority. "The tactic of mass terror is evidence of the separatists' weakness, not strength." Anand accuses the

separatists of attempting to foist their views on the majority of Sikhs in Punjab, through violence and terror. "They extort money from people and rob banks and cooperatives in order to stuff their own pockets. In this way, they are similar to the Afghan dushmans." Anand claims that the terrorists receive their primary support from abroad, including donations from wealthy Sikhs living in the West. "They also receive financial resources from Western special services, in the first place, from the CIA." Anand also accuses Pakistan of providing support to the Sikh separatists. "On Pakistani territory, many terrorists are trained in military sabotage tactics in special camps and receive up-to-date weapons. Pakistan is interested, for political and military-strategic considerations, in seeing Punjab break away from India." UD/332

**END**